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THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

VOLUME I

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

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AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH AMERICA

For the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, APPENDIX AND INDEX BY

ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

TORONTO

THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

1914

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE work of Captain John Knox is well known to students of the last struggle between France and England for North America; but it is known to few besides. The book has become very rare, for, since its first issue, nearly a century and a half ago, it has never until now been reprinted. It has great intrinsic interest, and is specially important as a record of the military transactions connected with the siege and capture of Louisbourg and of Quebec.

Not much is known of the author. John Knox was the third son of John Knox, merchant, of Sligo, Ireland,[1] who, according to a memorial of Jane Knox,[2] "Was always distinguished for Revolution principles and a Warm Fidelity to the House of Hanover." Of the early history of the author of the *Journal* nothing has been found. We know of his family only the bare fact that an uncle, who became a clergyman, had been educated at Strabane by a Mr. Ballantine, and that this uncle matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner student. John Knox served as a volunteer in the war which ended in 1748, and for his gallant conduct at Val was presented by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, in 1749, with an Ensigncy in the 43rd Regiment of Foot. Ensign Knox was married in 1751 to Jane Carre, a lady of the city of Cork,[3] who appears to have had an independent fortune. The money, however, was placed in the hands of a trustee, who became

[1] Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, vol. 165.

[2] *Memorial of Jane Knox, Widow of Captain Knox, May* 26, 1878. Public Record Office, W.O., 1, vol. 997.

[3] Record Office, Dublin. *Index of Marriage License Bonds.*

bankrupt, and Knox was absent from duty for three months prosecuting the defaulting trustee. On February 3, 1754, he addressed a petition to Lord George Sackville asking for his pay during his absence, and the petition was granted.[1] In 1741 he purchased a Lieutenancy in the 43rd,[2] and accompanied the unfortunate expedition against Louisbourg in 1757. He continued to serve in America until after the capitulation of Montreal in 1760. On January 8, 1761, he was appointed Captain of an Independent Company of Foot, afterwards the 99th Foot.[3]

The regiment was disbanded in 1763,[4] and the Captain retired on half pay. By a letter addressed to the Secretary of State at War, dated January 15, 1763,[5] it appears that Captain de la Gall of the 43rd had agreed to resign from the regiment in favour of Captain Knox; but, owing to the sudden death of Captain de la Gall, the arrangement was not completed. At this period Major Byng of the 99th Regiment was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the same regiment, and Captain Knox hoped to succeed him, but in spite of the influence of the Countess of Shelburne, who took an interest in the affairs of the Captain, the promotion was not made. On May 10, 1763, Lord Barrington wrote that "his Majesty was not pleased to give any order with respect to the Brevet Rank."[6] Knox was keenly disappointed on the receipt of this communication, although he put a good face upon it, and "Begged leave to observe with a Most hearty Assurance, that there is not a Man in his Service or his Dominions, that will, not only acquiesce, or more Chearfully submit to his Majesty's Royall Will & pleasure upon all occasions, than I shall." His disappointment was intensified, no doubt, by the fact that a certain

[1] Record Office, Dublin. Petitions to Lord Lieutenant, carton 242.
[2] Memorandum from War Office, November 4, 1909.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Public Record Office, W.O., 1, vol. 985.
[6] *Ibid.*

"Captain Forrester of the 85th Regiment had been verry lately preferred to a Majority in the 83rd, circumstanced equally as the 99th"; and he adds, "I therefore once more Most Humbly Intreate you Will be pleased to move His Majesty in My behalf, and that with all Humility and Duty I request and beseech My Royal Master that he will graciously Hearken to, and grant My Suit." No answer was given to this letter. It was endorsed simply "Captain Knox of the 99th Regiment." On June 4, 1763, the regiment marched into its quarters at Midhurst. When acquainting the Secretary of War with the fact, Knox seized the opportunity to observe that His Majesty's birthday had been celebrated in a befitting manner.[1] The Secretary was not to be moved, and the Captain remained on half pay until February 16, 1775, when he obtained command of a company of Invalids at Berwick.[2] A year later Knox was interested in the affairs of the Rev. John Rumney, Vicar of Berwick, who was called upon to perform the duties of a Chaplain without remuneration. "I am far, Sir, from thinking anything a burden," wrote the Vicar to Knox, "whereby I can serve my fellow Creatures either in Spirituals or Temporals: but at the same time it is a maxim both in Spirituals and Temporals, *Operarius mercede dignus*, and I am persuaded it is not his Majesty's desire that any of his Subjects should serve any part of his army gratis."[3] In December, 1776, Knox was still at Berwick, where he rendered assistance to Lieutenant Younghusband of the Royal Navy, who was then in the neighbourhood on the Impress Service. But thinking that perhaps he had exceeded his duties in this service, Knox recalled his men and awaited instructions from the War Office.[4]

In September, 1777, Captain Knox, with several of his brother officers, addressed a memorial to Lord Barrington

[1] Public Record Office, W.O., 1, vol. 985.
[2] Memorandum from the War Office, November 4, 1909.
[3] Public Record Office, W.O., 1, vol. 992.
[4] *Ibid.*

requesting promotion. But again his efforts were unsuccessful. His Lordship replied: "Promotion is for Officers who belong to active Corps. Officers of Invalids not being in that situation, are not promoted in the Service, but enjoy the honourable ease they have so well merited. There is but one instance in either of the last promotions by Brevet, in which this rule was not observed, & that instance happened by mistake."[1] Obviously the tide of fortune was not flowing in Knox's direction!

The relations of Captain Knox with certain officers in the barracks do not seem to have been cordial, and, on October 21, 1777, he complains of the conduct of Lieutenant Simpson. On November 1 Lord Barrington replied: "I have received your letter of the 21st of Oct'r & am to acquaint you that I am always desirous of supporting the Authority of the Officer who commands in Garrison; and therefore if you think the Service requires that Lieut. Simpson's Conduct towards you should be enquired into officially, I shall move H.M. to direct such enquiry to be made:—at the same time I apprehend as that part of Lieut. Simpson's conduct which first gave offense does not appear to have had any connection with your situation as Commanding Officer, you will think it most advisable to drop the prosecution of your complaint."[2] At the same time Lord Barrington addressed the following letter to Lieutenant Simpson: "Captain Knox, Commanding the Garrison at Berwick, having represented that your behaviour on the 19th and 21st of Oct'r last, was highly disrespectful to him as your commanding Officer, I am to desire that you will send me an explanation of your conduct to him on those days. Should you on reflection find that you have been betrayed by any sudden warmth into expressions inconsistent with the subordination and respect due to your commanding officer, I daresay you will think it most advisable on receipt of

[1] Public Record Office, W.O., 4, vol. 100.
[2] *Ibid.*

this letter, to make a proper Submission to Captain Knox and thereby prevent a further enquiry into this matter." [1]

The troubles of the Captain crept on apace: on November 17, 1777, a further communication was addressed to him by Lord Barrington, and an inquiry was made into his conduct: "It having been represented to this Office that six Invalids in the Garrison of Berwick are exempted from Duty for six pence per week, for the supply of the Garrison Hospital, and that one man is allowed off the parade to the Paymaster Serjeant, I am to desire you will be pleased to make particular enquiry into this matter, and report to me whether there is any foundation for this representation, as a practice of this kind is highly injurious to the Service." [2]

Further recriminations appear to have followed, and, on December 22, 1777, the affairs of the Captain reached a crisis. On that day Lord Barrington wrote: "As several points have lately been agitated among the officers of the Garrison where you are stationed, which nothing but an enquiry on the spot can properly settle, I am to acquaint you, it is the King's intention that those matters should be enquired into & determined by a Reviewing General in the Spring. And His Majesty trusts that in the meanwhile the Officers will take pains to conduct themselves in such manner as may prevent any further complaint against each other." [3]

The threatened investigation preyed upon the mind of the author, and, in the opinion of his wife, hastened his end,[4] which occurred six weeks later. The only reference to his death which we have found is the brief notice among the deaths chronicled in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1778: "Captain Knox, Captain of an Independent Company at Berwick, Feb. 8."

[1] Public Record Office, W.O., 4, vol. 101.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] Public Record Office, W.O., 1, vol. 101.
[4] *Memorial of Jane Knox.* Public Record Office, W.O., 1, vol. 997.

His widow was left with an income of twenty-six pounds a year. Her appeal to the War Office for assistance drew forth the reply that "The Compassionate Funds is confined to Officers' Widows and Orphans who have no other provision"![1] These scattered fragments, culled from the Registry of Wills and from Military Despatches, are all the biographical material we have been able to glean relating to Captain Knox.

The two volumes written by Knox were published by subscription and probably the receipts did not exceed the expenditure. Many accounts have been written of the campaigns of 1757-1760, some by men of high rank; but, after a lapse of one hundred and fifty years, the narrative of Knox is regarded as the most valuable record of those eventful times. We have found no mention of the publication in contemporary reviews, and it is probable that the issue was confined to the subscribers. That the author was in straightened circumstances during his last years is evident, and poverty is no recommendation to those in high places. Perhaps he did not possess the qualifications necessary to ensure success. It is clear that he could not obtain sufficient influence for promotion in the service. The soldier scribe, having surrendered his sword to a higher command, passed himself out of memory. But his valuable work remains.

Knox's English, it must be admitted, is often slipshod, but his style, though sober, is terse and not dull. If some of the incidents appear now of comparatively little interest, it must be remembered that Knox wrote for his contemporaries, and chiefly, we may believe, for those who had taken part in the events with which he was dealing. For these even the minor details which he records would have value as supplementing their own recollections and impressions. The *Journal* keeps the reader wonderfully in touch with the general course

[1] Public Record Office, W.O., 4, vol. 103.

of events and with the principal actors in the drama. Though there is not much character drawing, we feel ourselves, none the less, in the presence of Wolfe, and Monckton, and Townshend, and Murray. Knox has many a quaint and many a pathetic story. He seems to have been a genuine soldier at heart, and, in spite of the painful scenes which he describes, he gives us a favourable idea of the military profession. We are made to feel that war is not, as some would have it, mere murder, but that in practice it binds even more than it severs, that its friendships are more lasting than its enmities.

In point of accuracy the *Journal* must, on the whole, be commended. Errors of fact are to be found here and there, but they are few and not of great moment. Honesty seems to greet us from the face of the narrative. Moreover, the circumstances in which it was produced afford an additional guarantee of accuracy and good faith. The date of publication, 1769, was ten years after the taking of Quebec. Among the subscribers who bought the book would have been men who had taken part in the war or who, from their position in society, would have ties with the chief actors. Thus painstaking care would be demanded. To those conditions also is doubtless due the fact that the writer is very sparing of criticism. Without idealising his leading characters, he makes them all quite respectable. In one case, that of General Amherst, merit may be a little overrated. Knox has done well to incorporate in his narrative many general Orders. Apart from their historical value, which is sometimes great, they give the reader a certain thrill as of preparation for the battle and add sensibly to the dramatic force of the story.

The *Journal* opens in the month of February, 1757, when the mind of Britain's great statesman, Pitt, was turned towards America as the battle-ground upon which, he had concluded, the struggle between France and England must be decided;

it closes with the capitulation of Montreal when the last blow had been struck at French power in Canada and Britain had been lifted by her victories to the foremost place amongst the nations of the world.

Knox left home in 1757 in a happy frame of mind. He was particularly pleased with the reception afforded the troops by the Mayor and Magistrates of Cork. He had, too, a good word for the "Worthy inhabitants" who, notwithstanding the opportunities for trade afforded by the presence of so large a body of men, were content with moderate profits in their dealings. The fitting out of the fleet was a great undertaking. Though only five thousand men were to be conveyed across the ocean at this time, no less than sixty transports and twenty line-of-battle ships were required for the purpose. Preparations had been active for months, but it was not until May 8 that the ships sailed out of the harbour under sealed orders.

The vessels kept well together until the 21st, when they became separated. On the following day the captain of Knox's ship opened the secret instructions. It was then found "That in case of separation by bad weather the Captain was to make the best of his way to Halifax in Nova Scotia, which at first discovery he would find to be a reddish coloured land." The captain of the transport, however, ventured to deviate from his instructions, and steered northward, apparently in the hope of capturing a prize. Crossing the ocean was not without incident. For the sake of economy the troops wore their uniforms inside out, and, when approaching the Newfoundland coast, they were taken for Frenchmen by a Massachusetts privateer which bore down upon them. Decks were cleared for action, and it was not until the vessels were close to each other that the mistake was discovered. A new danger then threatened the ships, for their ropes and spars became entangled. The Massachusetts skipper, panic-stricken, fell upon his knees to pray, while the bluff British

captain jumped into the rigging, trumpet in hand, and took command of both vessels, shouting and swearing, and at the same time acting so effectively that serious mishap was averted.

The failure of the expedition intended against Louisbourg in 1757 was a sore point, not only with the troops but with the people in Halifax. Knox does not venture to indulge in uncomplimentary remarks regarding his superiors. Criticism, however, there was, and Knox cleverly places the responsibility for it on the Parish Clerk, who on the Sabbath gave out and sang lustily the first, second, ninth, tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, and twenty-sixth verses of Psalm xliv. (new version). Three verses run as follows:

"O Lord, our fathers oft have told
In our attentive ears
Thy wonders in their days performed
And elder days than theirs.

Reproached by all the nations round,
The heathen's byword grown,
Whose scorn of us is both in speech
And mocking gesture shown.

Arise, O Lord, and timely haste
To our deliv'rance make.
Redeem us, Lord; if not for ours
Yet for Thy mercy's sake."

Knox remained nearly two years in the district of Annapolis and Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia, leading a somewhat monotonous life and having little information from the outside world. The surrounding forests afforded ample opportunity for sport; but there was a constant dread of the Indian and even of the French scalp-hunter; many who ventured beyond the confines of the fort paid with their lives as the penalty.

Wood-cutting in the winter, under strong escort, formed a necessary and healthful exercise. In the summer there were excursions in search of fruit to the forsaken orchards of the unfortunate Acadians, who had been deported from their homes in Nova Scotia in 1755. News travelled slowly. The second expedition against Louisbourg, that under Amherst and Wolfe, was successful, and the capitulation was signed on July 26, 1758. It was not, however, until September 6 that the welcome intelligence was made known to the fort at Annapolis, where Knox had remained. On that day a sloop from Boston came into port. When it was near the wharf, Knox called out, "What news from Louisbourg?" The Master simply replied, "Nothing strange!" This did not satisfy one of the soldiers, who with some warmth said, "Damn you, Pumpkin, is not Louisbourg taken yet?" "Ay, about a month ago," answered the Master, "and I have been there since. But if you have never heard it before I have a good parcel of letters for you." Knox adds: "Words are insufficient to express our transports of joy at this speech, the latter part of which we hardly waited for. Instantly all hats flew off and we made the woods resound with our cheers and huzzas for nearly half an hour."

The 43rd had to spend another winter at Annapolis and Fort Cumberland, and it was not until April, 1759, that the regiment received orders to hold itself in readiness to proceed on an expedition to Quebec. In due course it set out. Knox arrived at Louisbourg on May 24. He found the garrison in a state of great activity. Admiral Saunders and General Wolfe had been there for some time, and everyone was on the alert. Most of the troops had been reviewed by the General under a new system. Some commanding officers, who expected to be reviewed, had told the General that it had not been in their power either to learn or to practise the new exercise. To this Wolfe replied: "Poh! Poh, new exercise—new fiddlestick; if they are otherwise disciplined and will fight, that's all I shall

require of them." Knox no doubt felt relieved, for his own regiment had spent two years in the woods and was not in touch with the latest regulations.

The expedition, an imposing array, proceeded from Louisbourg to Quebec. The *Journal* of Knox, from the landing of the troops on the Island of Orleans in June, 1759, until the capitulation of Quebec, is particularly valuable on account of the description he gives of the battle of the Plains and of the numerous Orders which he includes. Most of the details of the daily operations can be gleaned from other sources. For the remainder of the campaign his work is one of the best, and probably the best, of our sources of information. Wolfe's memorable victory and tragic death on the Plains stand out so boldly in history that one is apt to treat with indifference the events which followed. And yet, after reading the account of the sufferings and endurance of the troops during their first winter in Quebec, and of their plucky fight in the spring under conditions the most disadvantageous, it is impossible to rate their fortitude and heroism too highly. Wolfe had placed Quebec in their keeping and they were nobly faithful to their trust.

In preparing the notes, the Editor has had in mind the needs of the scholar, and has aimed to supplement the statements of Knox by citations from contemporary authorities, sometimes voluminous. The Editor desires to thank the President of the Champlain Society, Sir Edmund Walker, and the Secretary, Professor George M. Wrong, for their valuable assistance and advice. He also wishes to acknowledge his obligation to Mr. Placide Gaudet and Professor W. F. Ganong for the material for notes on Acadia and Nova Scotia; to Mr. E. T. D. Chambers for notes on the Fisheries; to Mr. Duncan Scott for a note on the Indian tribes; and to Mr. George H. W. Birch for notes on Montreal. He is also specially indebted to Mr. J. F. Kenney for his careful revision of the whole work.

ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY.

GENERAL AMHERST.

Frontispiece

AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS in NORTH-AMERICA,

FOR

The YEARS 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760:

CONTAINING

The Moſt REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES of that PERIOD;

PARTICULARLY

The Two SIEGES of QUEBEC, &c. &c.

THE

ORDERS of the ADMIRALS and GENERAL OFFICERS;

Deſcriptions of the Countries where the AUTHOR has ſerved, with their Forts and Garriſons; their Climates, Soil, Produce;

AND

A REGULAR DIARY of the WEATHER.

AS ALSO

Several MANIFESTO's, a MANDATE of the late BISHOP of CANADA;
The FRENCH ORDERS and DISPOSITION for the Defence of the Colony, &c. &c. &c.

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX.

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION

To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

Ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

VOL I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR;
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M DCC LXIX.

TO

Sir JEFFERY AMHERST,

KNIGHT of the Honourable and Military ORDER of the BATH,

COLONEL of the Third and Sixtieth Regiments of INFANTRY,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL in the ARMY,

AND

Late COMMANDER in CHIEF of All His MAJESTY's Troops and Forces in NORTH-AMERICA,

This WORK is Inſcribed, with great Reſpect,

BY

His Much Obliged, and

Moſt Obedient Servant,

JOHN KNOX.

City of Glouceſter,
May 10, 1769.

INTRODUCTION.

ACCOUNTS of transactions, in which the Writer has borne any part, are generally drawn with so evident a design of making him "*The Heroe of the Tale*," that they have been called in the just severity of wit, "*The* "*Histories of Man's Importance in his own Eyes.*"

Alarmed at a prepossession so dangerous, I have thus long suppressed the following work, written mostly at the time, and finished almost as soon as the events it contains. But upon cooler reflection, conscious innocence of a self sufficiency so justly disgusting, and from all pretensions to which I was precluded by my situation, has encouraged me to lay it now before the Public.

The end proposed, at least professedly, by all publications, is *Instruction*, or *Entertainment.* That I have any prospect of affording either, by a recital of facts, so recent as to be universally known, may possibly be a question with many. But the answer is ready. Though the facts, here recited, are known now, how long will that knowledge continue, if they are trusted meerly to memory ?—And as so much time has passed without producing any other attempt to record them, why should I not offer this of mine ?—

Instead, therefore, of giving up my hopes of attaining either of these ends, I honestly own my ambition aspires to both. I hope to afford the most sublime of all entertainments to the generous mind, by placing before him past scenes

of glory, in which he has either shared personally, or shall share in the review, by patriotic sympathy : and the most profitable instruction which history can give, by shewing the steps which have led to success ; the true advantage of experience. We know to act, by knowing how others, in like situations, have acted before us.

In a detail, like this, there must unavoidably be several particulars, which at first view may possibly appear to many to be equally unnecessary, and unentertaining : such for instance as, *The Orders to the troops for foreign service.—Their employment in the City, and Garrison of Corke, before they embarked.—Occurrences in Nova Scotia.—Observations on the weather.—Sea diaries.—Field and Garrison regulations, &c. &c.* But upon better examination these also will be found not to want their use, and even entertainment. The young Officer will learn from them the duties of that command, to which he aspires : and the Veteran will be pleased to see due attention paid to *Minutiæ*, the necessity of which he knows. In the latter instances, the nature of which admits not of certainty, knowledge of what has been, will lead to a judgement of what may be. Nor are these advantages confined meerly to men of military profession. Every brave man is naturally curious of the events of war. *Britons*, in particular, must be fond of knowing every circumstance that contributed to wrest the empire of *North America* from *France*, and add it to the Crown of their beloved Sovereign.

To this great *point* of blending pleasure with profit, *utile dulci*, I found my pretensions solely on the sacred basis of truth. Let facts speak for themselves, I represent them faithfully as they were. The praises, therefore, which on a review of great actions will irresistibly burst from an honest heart, cannot, must not be imputed to any design of flattering the illustrious Actors. They are the debt of gratitude.

They are no more than justice, the inviolable laws of which would oblige me to reprehend with equal impartiality; but to the immortal honour of all concerned, rarely, most rarely indeed does any cause of reprehension exact that painful duty.

Every other particular, in the execution of this undertaking, is submitted to candour, which will reflect, that the life of a soldier has but little leisure for study.—That the Flowers of Rhetoric seldom grow amid the thorns of War.

The several occurrences, recited in the following work, which happened in the parts where I did not personally serve, were communicated to me, by some of the brave Officers present, with whom I had the honour of corresponding; and on whose judgement and veracity I could depend.

But my principal debts of information are due to General *Sir Jeffery Amherst*, Colonel *Amherst*, and General *Williamson*, *of the Royal Artillery*, for *the orderly books*, and authentic accounts of different events, with which they condescendingly assisted me, to compleat this work. Nor must I leave out of the list of my creditors, my most esteemed friend * *John Knox*, Esq.;[1] for the valuable manuscripts, and verbal remarks he communicated to me, at *Montreal*, in September 1760, at the memorable junction of the three armies.

All the *Orders*, and *Transactions*, on the side of *Quebec*, under General *Wolfe;* and, after his lamented loss, under General *Murray*, in that and the following year, in the progress of our conquests, from the capital up to *Montreal*, are

* Was a Captain in the army, made the campaigns on the lakes, and retired at the conclusion of the war: he is now Collector of Excise in Dublin. —*Note by author.* (All notes by the author of this *Journal* are so marked.)

[1] Probably John Knox, appointed Lieutenant in the second battalion of the 1st, or Royal Regiment, September 21, 1756.

given from my own personal knowledge, or that of Officers of such approved worth and virtue, that I can safely stake my reputation on their veracity.

N.B. In order to enliven a Narrative of meer Facts, I have occasionally interspersed remarks on the soil, produce, and climates of the different countries, particularly of *Nova Scotia*, which will be found under date of the 12th of May, 1759.—As will also the description of *Canada*, in the latter part of the second volume, after the account of the reduction and surrender of that province to the Crown of *Great Britain.*

N.B. With regard to what is mentioned on Page 132, *touching the Want of a Regulation of Posts, Postage, and the Conveyance of Letters to the Troops, in different Parts of British America; the Author has the Pleasure to observe, there is now no farther Room for Complaints on this Head.*

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

His Royal Highness WILLIAM-HENRY, Duke of GLOUCESTER.

His Serene Highness GEORGE, Prince of MECKLENBURGH.

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Mrs. Ann Daunt, Gurtigrenan, County of Cork.
Mrs. ——— Dobson, City of Gloucester.
Mrs. Sarah Farley, City of Bristol.
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Mrs. Mary Warren, Warren's-court, County of Cork.
Miss Maria Anderson, Taunton, Somersetshire.
Miss Sarah Langton, Younghall, County of Cork.
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A.

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Honourable Captain Allen, Dublin.
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Colonel William Amherst, M.P. London.
Honourable Richard Annesley, Esq; at N°. 5, King's Bench-walks, London.
Thomas Apperley, Esq; London.

B.

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Lieutenant William Ball, of Marines.
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Paul Benson, Esq; City of Cork.
James Benson, Esq; Doctors Commons, London.
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D.

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Mr. Samuel Dick, Merchant, Dublin.
Mr. Peter D'Obrée, St. Hilliers, Jersey.
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Simon Dring, Esq; City of Cork.
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Nicholas Dunscombe, Esq; Mount Desart, County of Cork.
Henry Drummond, Esq.

E.

Right Hon. Lord Edgcumbe, &c. &c.
John Ellis, Esq; Greenwich, County of Kent.
Lieutenant-General Ellison.

F.

Mr. Magnus Falconer, Plymouth, Devonshire.
Lieutenant-Colonel Faucitt, of the 3d Regiment of Foot Guards.

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Augustus Fitzgerald, Esq; Dublin.
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Mr. William Frederick, Bookseller, Bath, Somersetshire.
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Major Henry Folliot, of the 18th Regiment of Infantry.

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Herbert Gillman, Esq; Old Park, County of Cork.
Lieutenant-Colonel John Godwin, of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.
Captain John Gordon, of the 50th Regiment of Infantry.
Robert Gordon, Esq; Surveyor-General of Munster, Ireland.
Mr. Edward Grace, London.
Most Noble Marquis of Granby, Field-Marshal and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.
John Grant, Esq;
Lieutenant-General, Sir John Griffin Griffin, K.B. &c.

H.

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Mr. David Hamilton, City of Bristol.
Peter Hancock, Esq; Twining, Gloucestershire.
George Hannington, Esq; Dungannon, in the County of Tyrone.
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William Hawskaw, Esq; Dublin.
William Heath, Esq; Acle, County of Norfolk.
Mr. Joseph Hill, Excise-Office, London.
Edward Hooper, Esq;
Lieutenant-General Howard, M.P. &c.
Honourable Colonel William Howe, M.P. &c.
Colonel William Hull, M.P. County of Cork.

I.

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Demetrius James, Esq; City of Worcester.
John Jennings, Esq; City of Gloucester.
Captain Thomas Jennings, of the 30th Regiment of Infantry.
William Jerningham, Esq; County of Norfolk.
John Johnstone, Esq; Governor of Charlemount, Ireland.
Captain Thomas Jones, late of the 72d Regiment.
Captain Albert Jones, late of the 96th Regiment.
Lieutenant William Ivory, Norfolk Militia.

K.

Mr. Daniel Kendall, London.
Honourable Major-General Keppel, M.P. &c.
Thomas Knight, Esq; Godmersham, County of Kent.
Thomas Knox, Esq; M.P. Dungannon, Ireland.
Thomas Knox, jun. Esq; M.P. Dungannon, Ireland.
John Knox, Esq; Collector of Excise, Dublin.

Ralph Knox, Esq; London.
John Knox, Esq; Britain-street, Dublin.
Reverend Andrew Knox, Grange, County of Sligoe.
William Knox, Esq; London.
Mr. James Knox, Poland-street, London.
George Knox, Esq; Sligoe.
Reverend Henry Knox, Berkeley, Gloucestershire.
Thomas Knox, Esq; Drogheda, Ireland.

L.

St. John P. Lacy, Esq; Brook, County of Norfolk.
Robert Lane, Esq; City of Cork.
Right Hon. Lord George, Lennox, M.P. &c.
Mr Philip Lerrier, Merchant, Jersey.
Charles Leslie, Esq; City of Cork.
Lieutenant-Colonel Matthew Leslie, East-Indies.
Robert Lindsay, Esq; Middle Temple, London.
Most Noble Marquis of Lothian, &c. &c.
Daniel Lysons, Esq; L.L.D. Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford.

M.

William M'Guire, Esq; Val. Rents, London.
Arthur Mair, Esq.
Mr. Griffith Maskelyn, City of Bristol.
John Monk Mason, Esq; Dublin.
Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre Massey, of the 27th Regiment of Infantry.
Mr. Diederich Meyerhoff, Merchant, City of Bristol.
Right Hon. John Earl of Moira, &c. Ireland.
Captain Robert Molesworth, of the 38th Regiment of Infantry.
Hon. Major-General Monckton, London.
Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Moneypenny, of the 56th Regiment of Infantry.
Hon. Colonel Monson, M.P.
Most Noble Marquis of Monthermer, &c.
Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt, K.B. &c.
Samuel More, Esq; London.
Mr. Richard Morson, London.

N.

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John Nesbit, Esq; Dublin.

O.

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Sir George Osborn, Bart. M.P.

P.

Thomas Parker, Esq; Kerrigrohan County, Cork.
Captain John Parr, of the 49th Regiment of Infantry.
Mr. George Paterson, London.
Captain William Pawlet, late of the 97th Regiment.
Mr. Richard Pember, Attorney at Law, in the City of Gloucester.
Right Hon. Henry Earl of Pembroke, &c.
Mr. Cooper Penrose, City of Cork.
Right Hon. Hugh Earl Percy, &c. &c.
Thomas Pering, Esq; London.
William Perry, Esq; Woodruff County, Tipperary.
Richard Perry, Esq; City of Cork.
Constantine Phipps, jun. Esq; City of Bristol.

Major-General Pierson, London.
George Piggott, Esq ; County of Cork.
Reverend Richard Piggott, City of Cork.
Reverend Mr. Pitts, Rector of Brickhill, in the County of Bucks.
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George Portis, Esq ; Belfast, Ireland.
James Portis, Esq ; London.
Lewis Pryse, jun. Esq ; Trinity College, Oxford.

R.

John Ready, Esq ; University College, Oxford.
George Rhodes, Esq ; Modbury, Devonshire.
Lieutenant-Colonel John Roberts, Taunton, Somersetshire.
Captain S. W. Roberts, of the 13th Regiment of Infantry.
Mr. Tobias Roche, City of Cork.
Robert Rogers, Esq ; Lota, County of Cork.
Bailey Rogers, Esq ; M.D. City of Cork.
Robert Rogers, Esq ; Ashgrove, County of Cork.
Major-General Rufane, Southampton.

S.

Captain Sabine, of Marines.
Mr. Abraham Saunders, Merchant, City of Gloucester.
Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, late of the 89th Regiment.
Major-General John Severne, Shrewsbury.
Mr. John Shaw, City of Bristol.
Captain Thomas Simes, of the Queen's Royal Regiment of Infantry.
John Galt Smith, Esq ; Belfast, Ireland.
John Smith, Esq ; City of Cork.
Captain John Smyth, of Berwick.
William Snow, Esq ; City of Cork.
Samuel Span, Esq ; City of Bristol.
Mr. Robert Stark, London.
Mr. Benjamin Stephenson, Fleet-street, London.
Annesley Stewart, Esq ; Ireland.
Andrew Thomas Stewart, Esq ; Ireland.
Sir William Strachan, Bart. City of Gloucester.
Richard Strode, Esq ; Butterford, Devonshire.

T.

Richard Tonson, Esq ; M.P. County of Cork.
Hon. Captain Henry Tracey, late of the 98th Regiment.
Captain Thomas Trigge, of the 12th Regiment of Infantry.
Reverend Josiah Tucker, D.D. Dean of Gloucester.

U. V.

Right Hon. Henry, Earl of Uxbridge, &c.
Benjamin Vaughan, Esq ; jun. London.
John Vaughan, Esq ; London.
Arthur Villettes, Esq ; Circus, Bath, Somersetshire.

W.

Joseph Wallace, Esq ; Belfast.
William Wallace, jun. Esq ; Belfast.
Colonel Hunt Walsh, of the 56th Regiment of Infantry.
Mr. ——— Walsh, Surgeon, Panton-square, London.
Henry Waring, Esq ; Bangor, Ireland.

Robert Warren, Esq; Warren's-court, in the County of Cork.
Thomas Webb, Esq; Old Castle, Cork.
———— Esq; City of Cork.
Mr. Daniel Weight, ——, Gloucestershire.
Edward Whitmore, Esq; City of Worcester.
Daniel Wier, Esq; Temple, King's-Bench-Walks, London.
John Henry Williams, Esq; City of Gloucester.
Thomas Williams, Esq; Ashgrove, County of Cork.
Carré Williams, Esq; City of Cork.
Major-General George Williamson, of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.
Captain Adam Williamson, of the Corps of Engineers.
Colonel Sir Armine Wodehouse, Bart., Norfolk Militia.
Mr. Richard Wood, City of Gloucester.
Captain Elias Wrixon, of the 38th Regiment of Infantry

Y.

Robert Gorges Dobyns Yate, Esq; Bromsberrow, Gloucestershire.

N.B. A Gentleman, who subscribed at the Printing-Office in Bristol, left his Address on a small Piece of Paper, which has been, by Accident at that House, mislaid; it is therefore hoped he will excuse the Omission of his Name in this List:—On his Application at the said Office (and producing his Receipt) Books will be delivered to him.

A NEW and ACCURATE MAP of the BRITISH DOMINIONS in AMERICA, according to the Treaty of 1763; Divided into the several PROVINCES and JURISDICTIONS. PROJECTED upon the best AUTHORITIES and Astronomical Observations. By Thos. Kitchin Geogropher.

British Statute Miles 69 to a Degree.

British and French Sea Leagues, 20 to a Degree.

Engraved for Capn. Knox's, History of the War in America.

AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH-AMERICA,

FOR THE YEARS 1757; 1758; 1759; AND 1760, *&c. &c.*

ORDERS for Foreign Service.

SIR, *Dublin.*

"IN obedience to the commands which the Earl of Rothes[1] hath received from their Excellencies the Lords Justices, it is his Lordship's orders, that Major-General Kennedy's regiment of foot,[2] now under your command, do hold themselves in readiness to march from their present quarters to Cork, according to routs which will be sent to them for that purpose, where they will receive orders to embark for foreign service: they are to carry along with them their tents and camp equipage. The usual number of carriages will be allowed them by the government; the cannon, ammunition carts, and the artillery stores which belong to the regiment, [2] are to be left at Galway, under the care of the troops, which are to remain there. 1757. February 2d.

"I am, Sir, *&c.*

"ROBERT CUNINGHAME,[3]

"Adjutant-General.

"To Lieutenant-Colonel Crosbie, or officer commanding General Kennedy's regiment at Galway.

"(A true copy.)
"Ch. Crosbie.

"To Lieutenant John Knox, or officer commanding at Athenry."

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[1] John, Earl of Rothes, Colonel 3rd Regiment of Foot, 1732; Major-General, January 1743; and Lieutenant-General, 1747.

[2] Major-General James Kennedy was Colonel of the 43rd Regiment of Foot.

[3] Robert Cuninghame, appointed Colonel of the 58th Regiment in 1767.

Dublin.

1757. February. 3d. "Whereas their Excellencies the Lords Justices of this kingdom have signified to the Earl of Rothes, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in Ireland, for the time being, that his Majesty has been pleased to direct the second battalion of his first or Royal Regiment of foot, and also the 17th, 27th, 28th, 43d, and 46th regiments of foot, commanded respectively by Lieutenant-General Sinclair,[1] Major-General Richbell,[2] Lord Blakeney,[3] Lieutenant-General Bragge,[4] Major-General Kennedy, and Major-General Murray,[5] do prepare for foreign service, and march in such divisions, and at such times, as are mentioned in the routs, which are herewith transmitted by express to the above-mentioned regiments to Cork, where they are to embark on board such transport vessels as the Lords of the Admiralty shall send for that purpose; and that His Majesty having been also pleased to direct and order that the said regiments may embark as complete as possible, that they do recruit and raise, as far as time will permit, in and near their present quarters, and on their march to the said place of embarkation, and in and near Cork and Kingsale, as many able-bodied men as will be sufficient to complete their respective corps: it is therefore the Earl of Rothes's orders, that His Majesty's pleasure, as above signified to the Lords Justices, be most punctually complied with: and it is also Lord Rothes's orders, that the six regiments above-mentioned,

[1] Lieutenant-General James Sinclair, Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Foot, 1737; Lieutenant-General, 1745.

[2] Major-General Richbell, Colonel of the 17th Regiment, 1752. He was succeeded as Colonel by John Forbes on February 25, 1757.

[3] William, Lord Blakeney, Colonel of the 27th Regiment, 1737; Lieutenant-General, 1747.

[4] Philip Bragg was appointed Colonel of the 28th Regiment in 1734, and obtained the rank of Major-General in 1747. Although he did not serve in America, his regiment did splendid work at Louisbourg and Quebec.

[5] Thomas Murray, Colonel of the 46th Regiment, 1743; Lieutenant-General, 1758.

do carry along with them to the place of embarkation, all such [3] deserters as have surrendered themselves to such regiments respectively, or to any other regiments that are now in garrison with them, and do submit all such deserters as supernumeraries; and upon their sending an account to their respective agents at Dublin, money shall be issued for that purpose; such of the above six regiments as have been allowed bass, or baggage horses, may, notwithstanding the order of yesterday's date, dispose of them for their own use, but are to make no claim on government for the maintenance of such bass horses, from the time of their being bought, the money which will arise from the sale of them, being thought sufficient for that purpose. 1757. February. 3d.

"*N.B.* The above six regiments are to carry along with them their tent and camp equipage.

"To Lieutenant-Colonel Crosbie, or officer commanding the 43d regiment of foot at Galway.

"Rob. Cuninghame,
"Adjt. General.

"(A true copy.)
"Ch. Crosbie, Lieut. Colonel.

"To Lieutenant John Knox, or officer commanding at Athenry."

Some time between the 5th and 12th instant, the fifty-fifth regiment, quartered at Galway, received orders, in like manner as the other six, to march for Cork, and embark with us for foreign service. These seven regiments were all arrived at that city before the 26th instant, where we found Colonel (now Lieut. General) Montague and his regiment;[1] with whom, and under whose command, we did strict garrison duty until we embarked. The troops were so well quartered and disposed of, and such proper orders were given on the occasion, that no riots or disturbances happened in this populous city. We were so long detained here by a series of contrary winds, that the officers had sufficient time to provide

[1] The 59th Regiment of Foot. Charles Montagu was appointed Colonel of this regiment, December 30, 1755; Major-General, June 25, 1759. On November 27, 1760, he became Colonel of the 2nd, or Queen's Royal Regiment of Foot.

1757. February. for their voyage and the expedition. This delay was also of service to us in another respect, as thereby the regiments, who had been for the most part separated in cantonments, had an opportunity of disciplining [4] themselves, particularly March. their young officers and soldiers. And here I cannot omit doing justice to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other magistrates of the city of Cork, for their great wisdom, zeal and activity at this juncture, not only in their regulation of the markets, but of every other branch of the police; insomuch, that there was not the least scarcity of any one article of the necessaries of life, and the strictest harmony at the same time subsisted between the inhabitants and the troops. The merchants and other gentlemen of this great trading city likewise displayed the most consummate generosity and humanity on this occasion; on which also, the corporation distinguished themselves in a super-eminent degree; for at the embarkation of the forces, all the soldiers wives not being permitted to accompany their husbands, passes were procured for them, and considerable sums of money were raised by voluntary subscriptions, to enable those poor distressed women to return to their respective countries; and such of the soldiers children, as their mothers could be prevailed upon to part with, were happily provided for at the public * expence.

Having thus got upon a favorite topic, my regards for

* Upon future occasions of this sort, soldiers need not be under any apprehensions about the welfare of their families, there being now in Ireland an establishment, intitled, "The Hibernian Society,[1] for maintaining, educating, and apprenticing the Children and Orphans of Soldiers," which noble institution is supported by an annual subscription of one day's subsistence from the army in that kingdom, as also by the bounty and benefactions of the public; and the parliament of Ireland have granted Three Thousand Pounds towards building an hospital for their reception; for which noble purpose, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant, by letters patent, three acres of ground in the Phœnix Park, near Dublin; and the Governors have already, in the space of eighteen months, extended the charity from twenty, to seventy boys, and thirty girls. Subscriptions and benefactions for this purpose, are received by all the Bankers in London and Dublin, *&c. &c.—Note by author.*

[1] See also note on the "Society of British Troops Abroad," vol. ii. p. 535.

this flourishing city, and its worthy inhabitants, strongly induce me to recite many other circumstances greatly to the honour of both: but as it is altogether foreign to the plan of this work, and lest I should incur the imputation of partiality, shall dismiss the subject, [5] after observing what ought, however, in justice to be recorded;—"That, notwithstanding the considerable number of men, both of the navy and army in this port, increased by a prodigious fleet of merchantmen waiting for convoy, and still farther augmented by the intervention of a week's crowded assizes, during our abode here; yet (*which is equally remarkable as it is matter of fact*) these made no alteration in the prices, as well of the necessaries or conveniencies of life, as of a multiplicity of other articles, seldom demanded except by troops destined for foreign service: the people of Cork equitably contenting themselves with their customary moderate profits, and sensibly considering (in contempt of what are usually understood by the *mysteries of trade*) the great breach of the laws, of strict justice and honesty, in taking advantage of strangers, and particularly of men, consigned to remote climes, to venture their lives in the common cause, the defence of Britain, its dependencies, and commerce, *&c. &c.*" This, I confess from my own experience, is a rare instance of probity and exalted sentiments, as well as a noble example to other cities and towns in his Majesty's dominions, where a contrary conduct is always most insatiably displayed on similar occasions: the Inhabitants of those places being utterly regardless of that excellent precept of the *Wise Man*, "he that hasteth (*unwarrantably*) to be rich, hasteth to his own ruin." 1757. March.

This day a large fleet appeared off Kingsale, supposed to be those expected to transport and convoy the troops, which are under orders of embarkation for foreign service. April. 25th.

This morning Admiral Holborne[1] and Commodore 26th.

[1] Francis Holburne, the son of a Scottish Baronet, was appointed to the *Namur* in August, 1732, and named Commander of the *Swift* sloop-of-war in

1757. April. Holmes,[1] with a respectable fleet and a great number of storeships, transports, &c. &c. arrived; and came to an anchor at the Cove of Cork.

N.B. Major-Generals Hopson,[2] and Lord Charles

1739. On February 15, 1740, he was promoted to be Captain of the *Dolphin* frigate. While in the Channel service in 1742, he captured and carried into Plymouth a privateer called *St. Jean Baptiste*, of eighteen carriage and fourteen swivel guns, with a crew of over one hundred men. In 1755 he was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and the next year he was second in command to Admiral Boscawen at Brest. As Vice-Admiral of the Blue he was given command of the expedition against Louisbourg in 1757. The details of this unfortunate expedition are given in the *Journal*. Holburne returned to Spithead on December 7, and soon after was named Port-Admiral of Portsmouth. On November 1, 1761, he struck his flag and quitted his command. On February 24, 1770, he was gazetted Admiral of the White, and given the civil rank of Rear-Admiral of Great Britain. In 1771 he was named Governor of Greenwich Hospital, but he did not long enjoy the office, as he died on July 15 in the same year, at the age of sixty-seven.

[1] Charles Holmes was the fourth son of Henry Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight. He entered the navy, and was appointed Lieutenant on June 18, 1734. He served in 1738 in the *Sunderland*, and in 1740 in the *Pembroke* with the Mediterranean Fleet. He was then sent to the West Indies, and on February 24, 1740, was raised to the command of the *Stromboli* fireship in the expedition to Carthagena, March to April, 1741. Returning to England, he was, during the next two years, employed in cruising against the enemy's privateers. In June, 1744, he was given the command of the *Enterprise*, on which he served for the next three years in the West Indies. In May, 1747, he was transferred to the *Lennox*, and in 1748 took part in an action with a Spanish fleet. He was criticised by Rear-Admiral Knowles, but the court-martial acquitted him and praised his conduct. In 1755 Holmes sailed under Rear-Admiral Holburne, in the squadron sent to reinforce Boscawen in North America. On July 26, 1756, cruising off Louisbourg with two ships, he met a French squadron, but only exchanged a few distant shots. Returning to England, Holmes was a member of the court-martial on Admiral Byng, and in the summer of 1757 went back to Louisbourg with Holburne. Early in 1758, Holmes was sent over with three ships to the coast of Friesland, and on March 18 blocked up Emden, which the French and Austrians were obliged to evacuate. A few months after his return to England, he was made Rear-Admiral of the Blue, July 6, 1758. In 1758 he was third in command of the St. Lawrence fleet under Saunders. In March, 1760, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica. He arrived there in May, and waged a successful war against the French commerce, seizing several rich prizes. He died in Jamaica, November 21, 1761.

[2] Peregrine Thomas Hopson was appointed Colonel of the 40th Regiment in 1740, and was Commander-in-Chief at Louisbourg when the place was restored to the French under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1749 he was sworn in as senior member of the Council of Nova Scotia, and succeeded

Hay,[1] with Colonels Perry,[2] Forbes,[3] Lord Howe,[4] and other officers belonging to the troops, together with a detachment of the royal train of artillery, arrived with this fleet from England: General Hopson commands the embarkation. 1757. April.

[6] Here follows a list of this respectable fleet, with that of the transports.[5]

Rates.	Ships Names.	Guns.	Men.	Captains, Commanders, &c.
3	Newark	80	620	Adm. Holborne, and Capt. Holborne.
3	Grafton	68	535	Com. Holmes, and Capt. Cornwal.
3	Bedford	64	480	Captain Fowke.
3	Invincible *	74	700	Captain Bentley.
3	Terrible	74	600	Captain Collins.
3	Captain	64	480	Captain Amherst.
3	Naffau	64	480	Captain Sawyer.
3	Northumberland	68	520	Captain Lord Colville.
3	Orford	68	620	Captain Spry.
4	Tilbury	60	400	Captain Barnsley.
4	Defiance	60	420	Captain Baird.
4	Kingston	60	400	Captain Parry.
4	Centurion	54	350	Captain Mantell.
4	Sunderland	60	400	Captain M'Kenzy.
6	Portmahone	24	130	Captain ———.

Otter sloop, Captain Broadly
Hawke ditto, Captain La Forey } 10 guns each.
Furnace bomb, Captain Phillips.
Light'ning fire-ship, Captain Martin.

* Ran a-ground coming into harbour, but was soon got off, without any damage.—*Note by author.*

Cornwallis as Governor in 1752. He returned to England in 1753. In 1757 he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and accompanied the expedition to Louisbourg. In November of the following year he was given command of the land forces for the reduction of the French Carribbee Islands. He died in Guadaloupe on January 27, 1759.

[1] See note, p. 40.

[2] Charles Perry, Colonel of the 55th Regiment, who died suddenly on the voyage, and was succeeded on September 28 by Viscount Howe.

[3] John Forbes, Colonel 17th Foot, February 25, 1757; Brigadier in America, 1758. In 1758 he commanded the expedition against Fort Duquesne. He died in Philadelphia on March 11, 1759.

[4] George Augustus, Viscount Howe, Colonel 55th Foot, 1757; Brigadier in America, 1758. See p. 185.

[5] Lists, with ratings, of the British and of the French navy at the outbreak of the war are given in John Entick's *General History of the Late War*, i. 409; ii. 31.

1757. April. [7] A list of the transports with their tonnage, and distinguishing vanes.

N.B. Commanding officers of regiments had a Swallow's-tail in the vanes of those ships in which they sailed.

Red, at the main topmast head.		White, at the main topmast head.		Blue, at the fore topmast head.		Red, at the main topmast head.	
Royal 2d Battal[n]. 1000 Men.	Tons.	17th Regiment, 700 Men.	Tons.	27th Regiment, 700 Men.	Tons.	28th Regiment, 700 Men.	Tons.
Concord	335	Constant Jane	469	Anna	313	Exchange	370
E. of Maclesfield	197	Elizabeth	231	Sukey	213	Britain	343
Friendship	197	Two Brothers	283	Caple	309	Dragon	309
Ann and Mary	348	Blakeney	197	Amitys Assistance	446	Resolution	238
Theodorick	197	Wallington	279	Rawleigh	180	Mary	218
Richmond	270	Fishburne	242	Berry	244	St. Andrew	229
Baltic Merchant	202						
Prince of Wales	430						
The Poe	205						
Total ——	2381	Total ——	1701	Total ——	1705	Total ——	1707

White, at the fore topmast head.		Blue, at the fore topmast head.		Red, at the mizen topmast head.	
43d Regiment, 700 Men.	Tons.	46th Regiment, 700 Men.	Tons.	55th Regiment, 700 Men.	Tons.
True Britain	360	Essex	602	Richard and Jane	359
Neptune	315	John and Samuel	239	Ranger	356
Richard & Mary	252	Mediterranean	183	Tho[s]. and Mary	256
Liberty	329	Ward	301	St. Ignatius	252
Brotherhood	345	Fair American	199	Hopewell Success	265
Sharp	203	Heron	182	Rose	220
Total ——	1704[1]	Total ——	1706	Total ——	1708

Total tonnage for 5200 men, is 12,612 tons,* but the

[1] Should be 1804.

* There are two ways of surveying a ship, to discover its tonnage; one is termed King's, and the other Carpenter's Measure: for example, we will suppose the length of the beam or main timber, which is athwart the ship under her deck, to be twenty-one feet, and the length of her keel fifty feet, multiply the one by the other, and multiply again by eight, which we will also suppose to be the depth of her hold; then divide by ninety-five, and the product is the answer. This is called Carpenter's measure, and only differs from the other, by multiplying by ten and a half, being half the length of the beam, and the supposed depth of her hold, and then proceed with the rest as before. ☞ This example is only for a small coasting sloop, larger vessels are surveyed in like manner.—*Note by author.*

allowance *per* man is various, according to the length of the voyage. 1757. April.

Note. The Alderney hospital ship was 503 tons, and this is exclusive of artillery, victualling transports, and store ships, which were numerous.

[8] The troops were compleated by draughts from other regiments, mustered, and embarked in great spirits; together with their baggage, stores, *&c.* and this business was so well conducted, that there was not the least confusion or accident happened. May 2d. 3d. 4th. and 5th.

The fleet and convoy fell down to the harbour's mouth, and came to an anchor: orders were issued to be ready to sail at a moment's warning. 6th.

A reinforcement of three ships of the line and a frigate arrived this morning early from England, in consequence of intelligence being received, that the enemy had put out a fleet of sixteen sail of the line to intercept us. 7th.

We sailed out of the harbour at four this morning with a fair wind; but it soon after veered about, and blew fresh; by which the fleet were separated, and the Centurion struck upon the Turbet-bank.[1] 8th.

Perverse wind to day, and our fleet much dispersed off Kingsale, though mostly in sight: the Centurion got off the bank at the return of the tide, without any prejudice: in working out yesterday several of our great ships and a few 9th.

[1] Lord Colville in his *Journal* for 1757 gives the following: "April 16. Sailed with the Squadron and about sixty Transport Ships, Commodore Holmes second in command. 25. Our whole Fleet got into Cork Harbour. . . . An Army under the command of General Hopson being embarked in our Transports.

"May 8. Sailed with the whole Fleet. . . . In crossing the Banks of Newfoundland in the middle of June, we passed thro among many Islands of Ice, which made the Air extreamly cold, & some of these Islands appeared as large and not unlike Gibraltar Hill.

"July 9. Our Fleet arrived at Halifax, where we found Rear Ad. Sir Charles Hardy with several of his Majesty's ships. . . . Course from the old Head of Kinsale to Cape Sambro, or Halifax, S79°–3′ 6 W 766 Leagues." (The original of this *Journal* is in the possession of the editor.)

1757. May. transports ran foul of each other, by which three of the former lost their heads, and a good deal of other damage was done in the fleet, but not so considerable as to retard their voyage.

20th. 21st. Our fleet kept well together until this day, when they separated in a fog; but the weather clearing up the day following, they were discovered a great way to leeward; upon which the Admiral shortened sail, and threw out signals to keep together, and come [9] down under his stern. Nothing material happened in this space of time, except giving chace to several straggling vessels; and one sloop was brought in, after a chace of near four hours; this was on the 12th instant, and the next day we encountered a dreadful storm, which did considerable damage in the fleet, and dispersed them for a few days.

22d. Last night, and this morning, the wind was exceeding high, with thick foggy weather, and a very rough sea:—the fleet once more separated, *and we lost them.* About two o'clock P.M. we spied a sail at a great distance standing towards us, whereupon we shewed our Admiralty colours, and she then hoisted a British flag, and came down under our stern to speak with us; she was a merchantman bound to the West-Indies, and had, with many others, rendevouzed at Cork for the benefit of convoy: we made reciprocal inquiries when either had seen the fleet, and which way they stood? The trader informed us, that he thought they stood to the southward; that, seeing six or seven sail in that quarter, he would follow them, and recommended the same to us; but the Master of our transport, though an expert and experienced seaman, took a contrary measure, and steered northward, telling us he knew we were bound to Halifax,[1] that he had made the voyage frequently before, and was certain, by keeping that course, we were more likely to recover the

[1] Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, was founded in 1749 by the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, and named in honour of the Earl of Halifax.

fleet, but he proved mistaken : for, a few days after, the Com- 1757. May.
manding Officer, seeing no likelihood of rejoining them, insisted on the Captain's opening his secret instructions, which he and the rest of the transports had received at Cork ; and, thinking it proper to comply herewith, he perceived he was directed,—"in case of separation by bad weather, *&c.* to make the best of his way to Halifax, in Nova Scotia : which, at first discovery, he would find to be a reddish-coloured land ; and also to keep well to the southward in his course." Notwithstanding these orders were positive, he ventured to deviate from them, and continued his course to the northward. The truth I believe was, our ship was a *letter of* [10] *marque*,[1] and a stout (though heavy) sailor ; mounted seven carriage guns (which she could fight under cover) besides a great many swivels, with plenty of ammunition ; and his cabbin was well furnished with small arms and cutlasses ; he had a good number of able hands on board, and our detachment (including, however, a few women and children) amounted to about one hundred and forty persons : therefore I believe the true motive, under these flattering circumstances, of our Captain's counteracting his orders, was the hopes he entertained of picking up a prize ; and our Commanding Officer, suspecting this to be the case, as he could not interfere in the sailing of the ship, or the business of its Master, gave orders for the soldiers arms to be flinted in readiness, and a cask of ammunition to be laid in a handy place of safety, where it might readily be come at, in case of necessity. There happened little remarkable in this voyage, except chacing several sail in our course, bringing to, and clearing ship two or three times to fight, when we thought we might

[1] The term "Letters of Marque" was applied to a commission issued by a government to a master of a merchant ship, authorizing the seizure on the seas of the property of another State, by way of reprisal. By the Declaration of Paris in 1856, almost all civilized nations agreed to abandon this method of warfare.

1757. May. expect resistance; but it so turned out, that we neither met with enemy or prize. We saw every day great numbers of whales, grampusses, and porpusses, together with variety of sea-fowl, particularly penguins, which were numerous; they are about the size of young geese, have a thick skin covered with short feathers resembling down, much valued for its exquisite softness and white colour; but they are not sufficiently fledged to take flight*; our attention, however, was more agreeably attracted by several mountainous islands of ice, which, at a distance, appeared to us, like land covered with snow; we perceived the air [11] felt exceedingly cool, June. while they were in our neighbourhood; and they were indeed remarkably curious; it happened to be fine moderate weather when we came up with them, so that we were not apprehensive of running foul of them; one in particular was within less than a quarter of a mile of us, and, for my own part, I thought I should never have been tired with viewing it; we computed it to be near a mile in length, and it did really appear like a barren mountain or rock, with a North-American winter's cloathing; every eye saw different beauties in this immense heap of ice, and one of the Officers had time to draw a sketch of it with his pencil, there being little wind abroad; and the view it made on paper was extremely grotesque and pleasing.

27th. At our arrival upon the banks of Newfoundland, we spoke with a fishing schooner of New England, who informed us, that he heard several French men of war and transports had

* In the northern parts of Europe, a penguin is larger than a swan, and is esteemed delicious to eat: the aborigines of those countries convert their skins into caps and hose, which they usually wear with the down or feathers outwards, except when hunting or sliding [1] in the winter, and then they turn them for warmth; the women also border their short petticoats and other garments, by way of ornament, with strips of the penguin's skin; in like manner as the females of more civilized nations do their cloaks, *&c.* with different sorts of fur. —*Note by author.*

[1] "Sleighing": see Errata.

arrived at Louisbourg[1] near three weeks ago ; I remember we inquired of him what latitude we were in, for it was then, and had been for a few days, such foggy weather (endemial to all the North-American coasts) that we could not take an observation ; but the poor simple fellow knew nothing of the matter, having neither quadrant, log, nor even a compass on board ; and told us, he did not know the use of them, for that the fishermen of his country never troubled their heads about any thing more than an hour-glass and a sounding lead. 1757. June.

The weather cleared up, and we saw a large topsail vessel a-head, crouding all the sail she could to come up with us,[2] we hereupon once more cleared ship, our men were quartered, and every thing was in readiness for action ; they endeavoured to get the wind of us, for, our soldiers having white linings to their uniforms, and their cloaths being turned outside in, for cleanliness, according to the custom of troops at sea, the Captain of the sail concluded for a certainty, that we were a French transport bound to Louisbourg, and, had lost convoy ; this ship proved to be a Massachuset privateer, and having taken a prize the day before, which [12] he had sent into Halifax, and there being at this time many of his prisoners in our view upon deck, dressed in bag-wigs and sharp-cocked hats, we were for some time as strongly prepossessed with a notion of his being an enemy ; and as he mounted twenty-two carriage guns, we concluded some mischief must ensue, though we were one and all determined not to visit Cape- 28th.

[1] Louisbourg, situated on the south-east coast of Cape Breton, was formerly the chief stronghold of France in the New World. In the year 1713 the French took possession of the Island of Cape Breton, and renamed it Isle Royale, while the name Louisbourg was given to Hâvre à l'Anglois, the English fishing settlement in the harbour. Louisbourg was subsequently fortified on an extensive scale, and the public buildings erected were more imposing than any others in America at the time. The fort was besieged in 1745 by a New England force under Pepperell, and surrendered. Cape Breton was returned to France under the Treaty of 1748.

[2] See Errata.

1757. June. Breton without the company of our friends who left Europe with us. As to his colours, though he shewed us British, we paid no regard to them; but, at length coming a little nearer, our Captain, seeming now somewhat dubious, hoisted our Admiralty jack, and went forward with his trumpet, still however keeping the wind of him, and haled him; the other soon put us out of suspence by favouring us with his history, and accounting for the appearance of French men upon his deck; then, inquiring if we were bound to Halifax, offered us his service to convoy and pilot us into the harbour: which we taking kindly, invited him to dine with us, and proposed hoisting our own boat for him at dinner-time; but, the wind freshening with a lumpy tumbling sea, we mutually agreed to postpone the civility to another opportunity. In the afternoon we happily escaped running foul of the privateer, by the carelessness of his and our helmsmen: the American was immensely terrified, and, instead of exerting himself as a British tar would do in the like imminent danger, fell upon his knees to pray; whereupon the Captain of our transport was obliged to give directions with his trumpet for the guidance of both ships, till at length, by exerting the greatest activity, we cleared him; and this accident gave the New-England-man such a dislike to our company, that he bore away and left us.

29th. Fine weather with gentle breezes; we came up with the privateer again to-day, by his shortening sail, to acquaint us what fleet that was we descried at a great distance on our larboard bow; at first we flattered ourselves it might be Admiral Holborne and our friends, from whom we had been separated the 22d ultimo; [13] but he informed us it was Sir Charles Hardy[1] with the land forces under the

[1] Charles Hardy, son of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, entered the navy as a volunteer on the *Salisbury* under Captain Clinton. In 1737 he became third lieutenant of the *Swallow;* the next year he was transferred to the *Augusta.* In 1741 he commanded the *Rupert* prize-ship, and later during the same year he was posted to the *Rye* of 24 guns, for service on the coast of Carolina and Georgia. In the year 1744 he was given command of the *Jersey*,

Earl of Loudoun[1] from New-York, and bound also to Halifax. 1757. June.

Fair weather and little wind; this morning we fell in with Sir Charles Hardy's fleet, which had very fortunately escaped falling into the hands of a much superior one of the enemy, that had cruised in search of them for many days before, under the command of Monsieur de Beaufrement,[2] who had 30th.

and sent to Newfoundland in charge of a convoy, and, as some of the ships were captured, he was tried by court-martial, but was acquitted. While in command of the *Jersey* in 1745, he fought an action with the *Saint-Esprit* off the coast of Portugal. In 1755 he was knighted, and made Governor of New York. In 1756 he was made Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and joined Rear-Admiral Holburne at Halifax to take part in the expedition of 1757. He returned to England towards the end of the year. In 1758 he took part in the siege of Louisbourg under Boscawen. After the reduction of that fortress he joined Hawke in the blockade of Brest. In 1762 he was promoted to be Vice-Admiral, and in 1771 was made Governor of Greenwich Hospital. He died in 1780.

[1] John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun, was born in 1705. He entered the army in 1727, and at the outbreak of the rebellion in 1745 raised the 54th Regiment. At the battle of Preston nearly the whole of his regiment was destroyed. He nevertheless succeeded in raising 2000 men, and relieved Fort Augustus, which was blockaded by the Frasers. From 1755 to 1757 he was Colonel-in-Chief of the 60th Regiment. In 1756 he was named Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Virginia, and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America. As Commander-in-Chief he was present at Louisbourg in 1757, but, apparently lacking in decision, he wasted much time, and was recalled to England. He died in 1782. The failure of the expedition under Holburne and Loudoun was the subject of a pamphlet published in London in 1757, under the title of *Remarks upon a Letter published in the London Chronicle, containing . . . an Enquiry into the Causes of the Failure of the Late Expedition against Cape Breton.*

[2] Joseph de Bauffremont, Prince de Listenais, and of the Holy Roman Empire, Chevalier de Malte, Marquis de Mirebeau, and Vice-Admiral of France, was educated for the religious order of St. John of Jerusalem. He appears, however, to have favoured a life on the ocean, and in 1742 won distinction in an encounter with a Tunisian frigate. In 1755 he was given the rank of Chief of Squadron in the naval forces of France, and in 1757 captured the English man-of-war *Greenwich*. In the expedition to Louisbourg in 1757 he was given the command of five ships. He married, on November 22, 1762, Louise-Benigne-Marie-Octavé-Francoise-Jacqueline-Laurence de Bauffremont, his niece, Canoness of the illustrious Chapter of Remiremont, and took the name of Listenais. He became Lieutenant-General of naval forces in 1764, Vice-Admiral of France in 1777, and died in November, 1781.

1757, June. very luckily sheered off to Louisbourg, in consequence of intelligence he had received from a fishing schooner of Boston, who had heard, and either thought it was true, or wished it so, —"that we had twenty sail of the line and a great number of land forces just arrived from Europe, now lying in Chebucto [1] harbour." * The fleet were doubtful whether we belonged to them, though many of them thought they had not seen our ship before: however, we took no notice of them, but slipt into the harbour in the crowd, and came to an anchor off the town of Halifax, about the length of a musket-shot from (or as the sailors say, "nigh enough to chuck a biscuit on") shore.

This voyage we performed in seven weeks and five days, and, though we had a good deal of rough, blowing weather, with thick fogs to sour our passage, yet upon the whole we esteemed ourselves peculiarly fortunate; the duty of Chaplain was performed by an Officer, who read the service of the church every Sunday upon [14] deck, when the weather permitted; and was very decently attended by the greatest part of the men and women on board: one circumstance, however, though it may appear trifling, I cannot omit on this occasion: The Master of our ship, who was a very sober moral man, always attended divine service with great decorum, and answered the responses with much devotion; but, if

[1] Chebucto harbour, now Halifax harbour.

* This brings to my remembrance an almost similar case that happened in the reign of Queen of [*sic*] Elizabeth, when Philip the Second of Spain was bent upon the destruction of England by his Invincible Armada; for an English fisherman, either through ignorance or design, acquainted the enemy, that we, upon a report of the Spaniards being disabled by a storm from prosecuting their design, had called home and laid up our fleet, and discharged our seamen; whereupon the Dons, esteeming this a most fortunate circumstance, determined, though contrary to their instructions, to burn and destroy all our ships in harbour: but they no sooner appeared on our coast, than the English surprised them, and gave them a complete overthrow, burning and destroying some scores of their great unwieldy tubs, to the unspeakable mortification of his Catholic Majesty, and the rest of the Roman Catholic powers of Europe.—*Note by author.*

unfortunately (which was sometimes the case) the attention of the man at the helm was diverted from his duty, and consequently the ship yawed in the wind, or perhaps was taken a-back, our son of Neptune interrupted our prayers with some of the ordinary profane language of the common sailors, which, immediately following a response of the Litany, provoked some of our people to laugh, seemingly against their inclination; while others remained steady and attentive to their devotions, looking upon such uncouth interventions, though seasonable at that time, as the mere effects of custom, and I am persuaded they proceeded from no other motive.[1] 1757. June.

Upon our anchoring in Chebucto harbour, our Commanding Officer went a-shore, and waited on his Excellency the Earl of Loudoun, who, with Major-General Abercromby, expressed great pleasure at our arrival, with the information they received of the fleet and reinforcements we had parted with at sea; and his Lordship said, *We staid so long, he had almost despaired of us;* but, being assured our delay proceeded principally from an obstinate set of contrary winds, that had retarded us in Ireland above two months after our arrival at the port of embarkation, his Lordship seemed pleased.*

[15] This day the troops from New-York disembarked and incamped on a rough, barren, and rocky piece of ground, on the W.N.W. side of a steep hill of a considerable height, which covers the town of Halifax on that quarter; this new July 1st.

[1] In the days of Champlain, the meditations of the Catholic sailors on the St. Lawrence were interrupted by the lusty psalm-singing and powerful praying of their Huguenot brethren. As they could not be entirely subdued, a compromise was effected, and the singing was discontinued. This arrangement did not afford the relief desired, and Champlain says that it was a bad bargain.

* As the fate of the expedition to Louisbourg, this campaign, depended in a great measure on the speedy sailing and junction of the fleet and forces from Europe with those of the Earl of Loudoun, it was for this reason I judged it necessary to commence this work with the first orders to the troops in Ireland to march and embark for foreign service: and it will thereby appear, that the earliest measures were taken at home to forward this enterprize, which without doubt would have succeeded, if the armament could have sailed when first intended.—*Note by author.*

1757. July. settlement is on a declivity, on the opposite side, hanging like seats in a theatre, down to the water's edge; which view of the town from the river, with an incampment of the grenadiers from the 40th, 45th, and 47th regiments, formed on the hill close by the citadel above the town, together with the neighbouring verdant woods on every side, and some few buildings on George's island,[1] (which is commodiously situated for defence as well as ornament) affords one of the most delightful prospects that can possibly be conceived. The troops in camp consist of the 22d, 42d, 44th, 48th, 2d and 4th battalions of the 60th, or Royal Americans; their establishment is one thousand men each, with three subaltern Officers, and four Serjeants per company. Mr. Goram[2] is ordered to Louisbourg to reconnoitre the fleet and forces of the enemy. I was sent ashore in the afternoon, to mark out ground for our detachment to incamp on.

2d. This day the detachment of the 43d regiment disembarked, and incamped on the left of the ground occupied by the troops from New-York.

[1] George's Island. For a long time this island was known by the name of Isle aux Raquettes, and later as Isle d'Anville. It is almost in the centre of the harbour, nearly opposite Halifax. Jean-Baptiste Frederic de la Rochefoucault, Duke d'Anville, who died on board the *Northumberland*, which had been captured by the French, was buried on this island on September 28, 1746. In 1749 his remains were transferred to Louisbourg, and interred in the King's chapel. The settlers who came from England to found the town of Halifax were landed on George's Island in July, 1749, and in July, 1755, one hundred and fifteen Acadian delegates were imprisoned on the island by the order of Governor Lawrence. The Abbés Daudin, parish priest of Annapolis Royal, Chauvreulx, parish priest of Grand-Prée, and Le Mairé, parish priest of Canard River, were also imprisoned on this island about this time.

[2] Joseph Goreham was born in New England. In the year 1749 he was given a commission in the Rangers, commanded by his brother, John Goreham. He rendered valuable service to the British at Louisbourg in 1758, and also at Quebec in 1759. Goreham was given the rank of Major in a British regiment in September, 1761. Extensive grants of land were made in his favour in Nova Scotia in 1765, but he appears to have impoverished himself in the service of the King, and in 1775 he was pressed by his creditors on all sides. In 1782 he was given the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland, and from 1783 to 1789 he was Governor of Placentia. He died about 1790.

A VIEW OF HALIFAX IN 1750

From an original drawing in the Dominion Archives

Between this day and the ninth, our fleet arrived in different squadrons, being separated off the land by fogs, and blowing weather; we have an account of the sudden death of the Colonel of the 55th regiment,[1] in his voyage, on board the Grafton ship of war. 1757. July. 3d.

This day Admiral Holborne and Commodore Holmes arrived in the river, and were saluted by Sir Charles Hardy in the Nottingham,[2] and by the batteries from shore; the Newark[3] and Grafton[4] returned the salute. As fast as transports came in, the troops disembarked and incamped with the other six regiments, without any regard to seniority, except that the Royal took the right of the whole; the train incamped on the eminence in the front and cen- [16] ter of the line. His Majesty's ship Windsor, and Granada bomb-ketch, are just arrived from England; they brought in two prizes with them, loaded with stores and provisions for Louisbourg and Quebec garrisons. Hitherto we had great variety of weather, with sudden transitions from heat to cold, high winds and heavy rains, with thunder and lightning, and almost perpetual fogs. The troops are employed in clearing and levelling their camp, which to some of the regiments is a work of much difficulty, for the rudeness of the ground, by reason of swamps and immense rocks, is beyond conception. 10th.

This day the Commander in Chief reviewed a battalion of the Royal Americans: in the firings, a ball was discharged from the center, which wounded one of his Lordship's orderly Serjeants in the arm, but, upon the strictest scrutiny, it appeared to be an accident; it is however remarkable, that an affair of the same kind happened before, though not in this camp, as his Excellency was reviewing another battalion of this corps, by which a Lieutenant was killed, who stood 11th.

[1] Colonel Charles Perry.
[2] The *Nottingham*, Captain Marshall.
[3] The *Newark*, Admiral Holmes.
[4] The *Grafton*, Captain Cornwall.

1757. July. very near to his Lordship. The several corps of Officers pay their compliments, alternately, to the Commander in Chief.

12th and 13th. We have had most violent rains, with thunder and lightning, which renders our camp very uncomfortable. A body of rangers, under the command of Captain Rogers,[1] who arrived with the other troops from the southward, march out every day to scour the country; these light troops have, at present, no particular uniform, only they wear their cloaths short, and are armed with a firelock, tomahock, or small hatchet, and a scalping knife; a bullock's horn full of powder hangs under their right arm, by a belt from the left shoulder; and a leathern, or seal's skin bag, buckled round their waist, which hangs down before, contains bullets, and a smaller shot, of the size of full-grown peas: six or seven of which, with a ball, they generally load; and their Officers usually carry a small [17] compass fixed in the bottoms of their powder-horns, by which to direct them, when they happen to lose themselves in the woods.

14th. The Officers of the 43d regiment were this day presented to the Commander in Chief, and were politely received. Detachments from the army employed to-day in making fascines and gabions.

16th. The troops were mustered yesterday and to-day; and the regiments take all opportunities for exercise.

[1] Captain Robert Rogers (see vol. ii. p. 526, note 10) was at Lake George in the spring of 1757, when he received orders to proceed to New York. He says: "My own company from Fort Edward, and Capt. Stark's and Capt. Bulkley's from Fort William-Henry, agreeable to the above instructions, marched down to Albany, and from thence embarked for New York, where we were joined by another new-raised company of Rangers, under the command of Capt. Shephard from New Hampshire, and after some small stay there, re-embarked on board a transport, and left Sandy Hook on the 20th of June, with a fleet of near an hundred sail, bound to Halifax, where we soon arrived, and, according to orders, I encamped on the Dartmouth-side of the harbour, while the army lay encamped on the Halifax-side. The Rangers were here employed in various services."—*Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (London, 1765), pp. 53–54.

Some intrenchments are erecting on the left of the camp, in order to discipline and instruct the troops, in the methods of *attack and defence;* and this is to be continued during our stay here: cold weather for the season, very windy with thick fogs. 1757. July. 17th.

The 17th and 43d regiments were reviewed to-day by the Earl of Loudoun; their regularity and good performance gave great satisfaction to his Lordship and the other general Officers. 18th.

A general court-martial was held this day, and condemned two men to death for desertion. 19th.

The weather has been exceedingly hot to-day, and many Officers, who have been at Gibraltar and Minorca, say it exceeds the heat of those climates; but of this we cannot complain every day. The two men, sentenced yesterday, were executed this forenoon, and both died very penitent, acknowledging the justice of their punishment. One of our twenty gun ships, who was reconnoitring the harbour of Louisbourg, brought in a prize to-day after a stout resistance on the part of the enemy; she is a sloop of sixteen guns, bound from Quebec to Louisbourg, where she was to have left her lading of ammunition and provisions, and then to have returned to Europe; by this prize information is received, that the enemy have divided their fleet between Cape-Breton and the capital of Canada, being apprehensive that our menaces against the former are only a finesse to cover our real intentions of proceeding up the river St. Lawrence to attack Quebec. 20th.

Part of the troops are now employed (the lines on the left of our camp being completed) in clearing ground for and enclosing a [18] large garden, which is immediately to be cultivated, to supply the sick and wounded of the army with vegetables during the siege of Louisbourg, it being intended that the general hospital shall be established here. 22d.

As the fleet is now formed in the order in which it is to 23d.

1757. July. sail, and this disposition bearing date this day, I have thought it not improper to insert it in this place.

Line of Battle.

The Kingston to lead with the starboard tack, and the Defiance to lead with the larboard tack.

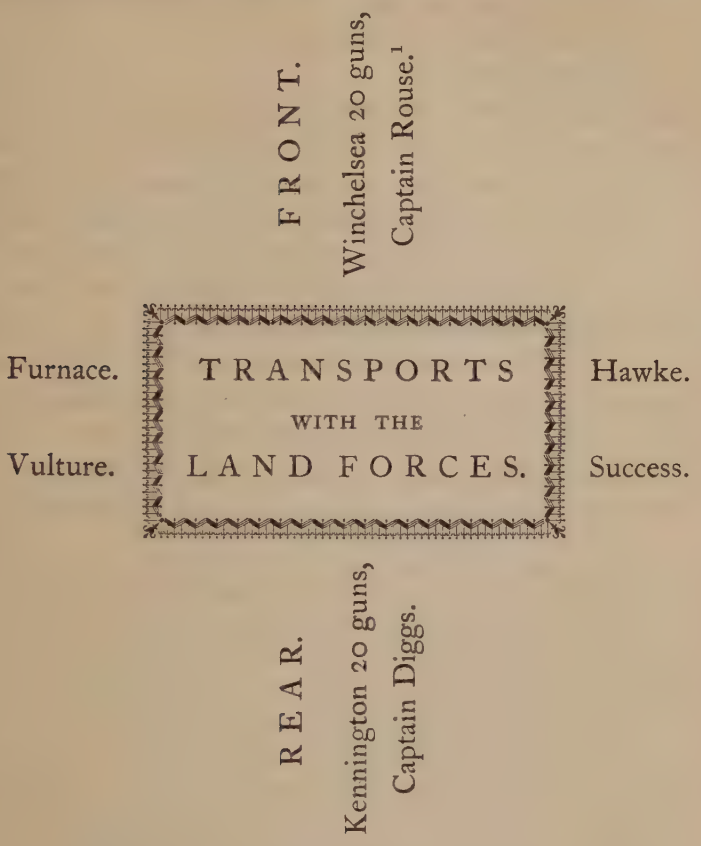
Frigates to repeat signals.	Rates.	Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.	Divisions.
Hunter	4	Kingston	60	400	Capt. Parry	Sir Charles Hardy, Knt. Rear-Admiral of the Blue.
	3	Captain	64	480	Capt. Amherst	
	3	Invincible	74	700	Sir Charles Hardy; Capt. Bentley	
	3	Nassau	64	480	Capt. Sawyer	
	4	Sutherland	50	350	Capt. Falkingham.	
	Total	Ships five ——	312	2410		
Portmahone	4	Tilbury	60	400	Capt. Barnsley	Francis Holborne, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue.
	3	Northumberland	68	520	Capt. Lord Colville	
	3	Newark	80	620	Fran. Holborne, Esq; Capt. Holborne	
	3	Orford	68	620	Capt. Spry	
	4	Sunderland	60	400	Capt. M'Kenzie	
	4	Centurion	54	350	Capt. Mantell.	
	Total	Ships six ——	390	2910		
Ferret	4	Nottingham	60	400	Capt. Marshal	Charles Holmes, Esq; Commodore.
	3	Bedford	64	480	Capt. Fowke	
	3	Grafton	68	535	Charles Holmes, Esq; Capt. Cornwal	
	3	Terrible	74	600	Capt. Collins	
	4	Defiance	60	420	Capt. Baird.	
	Total	Ships five ——	326	2435		

The frigates and sloops, not set down in the line, are to lie off with the transports.

Dated on board his Majesty's ship Newark, at Halifax, the 23d of July, 1757.

Francis Holborne.

[19] Convoy for the transports which are to carry the troops to Cape-Breton, under the command of Captain Rouse. 1757. July.



The Baltimore and Jamaica sloops to follow, and assist, with the above six, to cover the landing of the troops. 23d.

Ships stationed at Halifax as unfit for service, *viz.* L'arc en Ciel, Windsor, Nightingale, Lightning, Speedwell, Granada, Gibraltar's Prize; and the Hariot packet for dispatch or intelligence.

FRANCIS HOLBORNE.

[1] Captain John Rous had been master of a Boston privateer. He was sent with two ships of 14 guns each, in the summer of 1744, to the northern coast

1757. July. [20] This day one hundred days baggage and forage money was issued out to the troops which came last from Europe, at the rate of six pounds five shillings sterling to each subaltern and staff Officer, and seventeen pounds ten shillings to Captains and field Officers.

24th. This morning the picquets of the line, with a working party from the army, marched to the left of the camp, where the intrenchments were thrown up; they were formed into distinct bodies; one half carried on approaches, while the other defended; frequently sallying out to obstruct the workmen, when the covering parties attacked, repulsed, and pursued them, making many prisoners: which afforded much mirth to a numerous crowd of spectators. This is in order to make the troops acquainted with the nature of the service they are going upon; also to render the smell of powder
25th. more familiar to the young soldiers; and is to be continued till farther orders; one man was slightly wounded in the

of Newfoundland, where he attacked the port of Fishot, defended by a French fleet of five large armed vessels, all of which he took; he also took another ship at St. Julian's, of 16 guns, and ten vessels on the Banks. He retook a British ship, burnt all the fishing establishments in seven different harbours, and destroyed upwards of eight hundred fishing vessels, all within the short space of one month. He was next engaged in the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745. He commanded the *Shirley* galley, 24 guns, one of the fleet fitted out at Boston for that service, and was appointed second in command, under Captain Tyng. After the capture of Louisbourg, he was despatched by Governor Shirley to England with news of the victory; and as a reward for his gallant services he was made a Captain in the Royal Navy on September 24, 1745. He returned to Louisbourg in command of the *Shirley*, and in 1749 was doing duty at Annapolis and in the Bay of Fundy. In 1755 he commanded the little squadron which conveyed the expedition under Monckton against Beauséjour and the other French forts at the isthmus, after which he sailed to the river St. John, where he destroyed all the French fortifications and settlements. In 1756, while in command of the *Winchelsea*, 20 guns, he captured a French ship of 16 guns. The next year he was in command of the *Sutherland*, 50 guns, at the second siege and capture of Louisbourg, and in 1759 at the siege of Quebec. It was from his ship that General Wolfe issued his last order before storming the heights. Captain Rous settled at Halifax. He was sworn in member of the Council, October 1, 1754, and died in 1760. His daughter married the Hon. Richard Bulkeley, the Provincial Secretary.

thigh at the trenches, but, upon inquiry, it appeared to be accidental: there are frequent Councils of War held at the headquarters. 1757. July.

Four sailors, who had walked a little way into the country, were attacked by a party of the enemy, suspected to be Indians; two of them were found dead and scalped, and the other two are missing; this is supposed to be a small scouting party, sent here in order to take a prisoner for intelligence; in consequence of this accident an Officer's guard from the line was ordered to mount at Point Pleasant, near that place. Advice is received by a tender, that three ships of war were off the land, coming to reinforce our fleet; that they took a large rich prize laden with money, arms, and other presents to the Indians in alliance with the enemy; that she came from Rochelle, and was bound to Quebec. Weather variable, sometimes vastly hot and clear over-head; at others, cold with fogs and high wind; and the changes from one extreme to the other are very sudden. The troops continue every morning, for several hours, their counterfeit attacks on the trenches, and are [21] greatly pleased with this kind of exercise, as every incident is shewn to us by the Generals and Engineers, that can almost occur upon actual service; the army are in great spirits, and seem zealously impatient to realise and change the scene to Louisbourg. 29th.

Great quantities of fascines, hurdles, and gabions are daily making, and drawn to the wharfs in the town, in order to be put on board proper ships, by the sailors of the fleet. 31st.

This day the trenches were stormed by the piquets; some field-pieces were brought there for this purpose, and every thing was conducted with the greatest regularity.

The artillery, stores, and other heavy baggage of the army (except their cloathing and camp equipage) were embarked this day, and the troops have received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march, on the shortest notice. Captain Rouse, who was lately detached with a few light ships to August. 1st.

1757. August. look into the harbour of Louisbourg, and to reconnoitre the different, most accessible bays and landing-places in its neighbourhood, is returned; but the result of his observations has not transpired.

The army was this day formed into the following brigades.

1st brigade	Royal, 44th, 55th, 28th	to be commanded by Major-General Hopson.	2d brigade	17th, 46th, 2d bat. 60th, 42d	Major-General Abercromby.[2]
3d brigade	22d, 48th, 4th bat. 60th, 43d	Major-General Lord Charles Hay.[1]	Reserve	The 27th reg[t] with a detachment from the 40th, 45th and 47th, to consist of 700 men,	are to be commanded by Governor Col. Lawrence.[3]

The detachment of the Royal Artillery, consisting of about 370 men, Officers included, is commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson.[4]

[1] Lord Charles Hay was the third son of the third Marquess of Tweeddale. He joined the army in 1722, and served as a volunteer under Prince Eugene in 1734 in the war of the Polish succession. He gained conspicuous distinction at Fontenoy; was appointed Colonel of the 33rd Regiment in 1752, and Major-General in 1757. While in command of the 3rd Brigade at Louisbourg, he ventured to criticize the dilatoriness of Lord Loudoun, the Commander-in-Chief, stating that "the General was keeping the courage of his Majesty's troops at bay, and expending the nation's wealth in making sham sieges and planting cabbages when he ought to have been fighting." He was arrested and sent back to England. His trial lasted from February 12 until March 4, 1760. Hay died on May 1, 1760, and the decision of the court, which was referred to the King, was not made known.

[2] James Abercrombie, or Abercromby, obtained his commission as Major in 1742. He was named Lieutenant-Colonel in 1744, Major-General in 1756, and Lieutenant-General in 1759. In December, 1757, he was made Colonel-in-Chief of the 60th Regiment. He was sent to America in 1756, in command of the 50th Regiment, and placed in command of the 2nd Brigade in the expedition against Louisbourg, 1757. On the recall of the Earl of Loudoun, he became Commander-in-Chief. He led the expedition against Ticonderoga with Lord Howe as second in command; but on the death of Howe, the campaign ended in failure. He returned to England and was made deputy-governor of Stirling Castle in 1772.

[3] Charles Lawrence, who was given command of the reserves in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1757, was born at Plymouth on December 14, 1709. His father, General John Lawrence, served in Flanders under Marl-

All the troops embarked this day by brigades, at the different wharfs appointed for them; a boat full of soldiers of the 43d regiment overset; the men were happily all saved; but a few arms [22] and some ammunition were lost. The transports at this embarkation are much more crowded than they were at leaving Europe, on account of some vessels being discharged, and others employed in carrying fascines, gabions, flat-boats, with other stores, for the expedition. The state of the regiments as they embarked, *viz.* Royal, 700 rank and file only, having been very sickly; the other six regiments, who came last from Europe, at 668 each; and the six regiments from New-York, at 980 each; which, together with the detachment of 700 from the 40th, 45th, and 47th regiments, amount (exclusive of the artillery-men, marines, and 500 rangers) to 11288 effectives: hence it appears, that, since this army last embarked at their respective ports, if they were

1757. August. 2d.

borough; and his grandfather, Colonel Edward Lawrence, who had been a favourite of Charles II, impoverished his estates in the cause of the Stuarts. Captain Richard Lawrence, a great-uncle of Charles, distinguished himself as a naval officer in command of the *Sceptre* in 1672 at the battle of Solebay. Charles Lawrence entered the army in 1727 as ensign in Montague's Foot. Two years later his regiment was transferred to America, where he served in New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, and from 1733 to 1737 his regiment was in the West Indies. In 1741 he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 54th Regiment, and the next year was named captain. He served with the army in Flanders and was wounded at Fontenoy. During the year 1747 he was ordered to New York, and from there to Louisbourg, where he remained until 1748. In the following year he was appointed a member of the Council of Nova Scotia, and succeeded Hopson as governor in 1753. He proved an able administrator, and many improvements were carried out during his term of office. It was under Lawrence that the deportation of the Acadians occurred, and he has been blamed for acting without authority from England. This unfortunate affair is not a matter which requires treatment here. Lawrence proved a capable governor and carried out many important public works. He was a good soldier, and distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758. In December, 1757, he was given the rank of Brigadier in America, and was appointed Colonel of the 60th Regiment. He died at Halifax on October 19, 1760, at the age of 51 years.

[4] George Williamson was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, February 4, 1757; Colonel Commanding, November 20, 1759; Major-General, July 10, 1762.

1757. August. then actually complete, have suffered by sickness, *&c.* and perhaps a few by deaths, to the amount of 612 men.

3d. Orders are issued to the Masters of transports to be particularly careful of their wood and water, and, according as either is consumed, to have it replaced from shore, while we remain in the harbour.

4th. If the Commander in Chief should have occasion to speak with the following Generals and Officers when at sea, the signals hereafter mentioned will be made for them, *viz.*

Signals.	Common Pendants.
Major-General Abercromby — —	At the main topmast head.
Major-General Hopson — — —	Fore topmast head.
Major-General Lord Charles Hay —	Mizen topmast head.
Major of the first brigade — — —	Starboard main topsail yard-arm.
——— second ditto — —	Larboard ditto.
——— third ditto — — —	Starboard fore topsail yard-arm.
Quarter-Master General — — —	Larboard ditto.
Adjutant of the first brigade — —	Starboard mizen topsail yard-arm.
——— second ditto — —	Larboard ditto.
——— third ditto — —	Starboard main yard-arm.
For all Adjutants — — — —	Larboard ditto.
Commander of the train — — —	Blue pendant, mizen peeke.

[23] The Admiral with the fleet are to proceed to Louisbourg, and endeavour to decoy that of the enemy out of their harbour; the transports, with their convoy of frigates, are to remain here, and wait the event.

5th. A large French schooner is brought in,[1] which was taken by the Gosport man of war off the Banks of Newfoundland; she was bound from Cape-Breton to France, and her business was to carry intelligence; when she struck, she pretended to throw a packet overboard; but, upon searching her, a small bag was found in an unsuspected place, under a parcel of dry fish, which contained letters to the French Ministry, "acquainting them with the arrival of their fleet at Louisbourg, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, besides

[1] This was *La Parole*, which was captured after a chase of several hours.

frigates ; and that, exclusive of a garrison of 3000 men, they have an army of 4000, intrenched up to their necks, with twenty-five pieces of cannon (of different dimensions) and three mortars, in order to oppose our descent ; that their fleet and army are in great spirits, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence." 1757. August.

The intelligence, obtained by the French schooner, has obliged us to alter our measures ; the expedition is laid aside, and all farther design of acting offensively to the eastward, for this campaign, is given up. 6th.

Some malevolent spirits have contumaciously endeavoured to propagate a general discontent, by insinuating that the foregoing intelligence is the result of a refined piece of policy in the French ; and have taken upon them to alledge, that it was not intended the prize schooner should proceed farther than the latitude wherein she was taken by the Gosport ; but the army in general, as well as all sensible people here, entertain too just an opinion of the Commander in Chief, to give the least credit to such infamously absurd assertions ; being assured his Lordship is not to be diverted from an enterprise of such consequence, by any finesse the enemy are capable of.

[24] The Royal and 28th regiments are ordered to disembark and return to camp ; the fascines, hurdles, gabions, *&c.* are likewise landed upon George's island, having no occasion for them at present. The 27th, 43d, and 46th regiments, are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to sail at a moment's warning, upon an expedition up the river St. John, in the bay of Fundy, under the command of Governor Lawrence ; after which these corps are to be sent to garrison the forts of Annapolis Royal,[1] fort Cumberland (called by the

[1] The first fort at Annapolis Royal, or Port Royal, situated on the north shore of the Annapolis River, was built by De Monts in the summer of 1605. Eight years later it was destroyed by Samuel Argall. In 1628 the fort fell into the hands of the Kirke brothers, and during the next year a number of

1757. August. French Beau Sejour)[1] and fort Edward (formerly Pisaquid)[2] all in this province: which, with the troops at Halifax, are to remain under the command of Major-General Hopson: the rest of the army are to proceed with the Earl of Loudoun to the southward, and the fleet are to sail and cruise off Louisbourg.

7th. It being now universally known at Halifax, that the expedition against Cape-Breton is laid aside for this season, the Clerk of the church, to evince his sentiments upon the situation of affairs, gave out this day, and sung, the 1st, 2d, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, and 26th verses of the xlivth psalm of the new version. A Jew Merchant and another man were this morning committed to jail, by the Governor, for circulating a false report of there being only five ships of war and three frigates at Louisbourg; but the Earl of Loudoun, being superior to such mean resentments, ordered them to be released in the evening.

The troops on board received orders this day to be ready to sail at a moment's warning, together with their convoys, for their respective destinations.

Scotch settlers under William Alexander, the younger, took possession. After reconstructing the fort they named it Charles Fort, although it is still known as Scots Fort. France regained possession of the place under the terms of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye; but in 1654 the garrison surrendered to Robert Sedgwick, and two years after Thomas Temple was appointed Governor by Cromwell. Annapolis Royal passed again into the hands of the French by the Treaty of Breda in 1667, although it was not until 1670 that Grandfontaine took possession in the name of France. The seat of government was then changed to Pentagoet (Penobscot). After the Peace of Ryswick, Villebon the Governor built a fort on the river St. John; but when De Brouillan became governor of Acadia in 1701, he was instructed to take up his official residence at Annapolis. The fort was attacked by Nicholson and surrendered to the British on October 13, 1710.

[1] Beauséjour, a fort on Chignecto Bay, built by the French in 1751. The fort was captured by the British under Robert Monckton in 1755, and renamed Fort Cumberland.

[2] Piziquid, or Fort Edward, built in 1750, is situated upon an eminence on the south-east side of Minas Basin between the rivers Piziquid and St. Croix.

"By Paul Henry Ourry,[1] Esq; Commander of his Majesty's ship Success, pursuant to an order from Francis Holborne, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, *&c. &c.* 1757. August. 8th.

"You are hereby required and directed to keep the transport, whereof you are Master, in constant readiness to sail, in company with me, for the bay of Fundy: and, as it is of the utmost conse- [25] quence to his Majesty's service, your not losing company from me, you are to be very observant of all my signals, and to keep yourself in the station which shall be prescribed to you by my signals; and, when you are entered into the bay of Fundy, you are to keep your ground tackle in constant readiness, as there will be frequent occasion for our anchoring*; and, as the tides in that bay run very strong, you are to keep at proper distances, so as not to endanger his Majesty's transports from running foul of one another, for which this shall be your order. Dated on board, *&c.*

"P. H. O.

"To Mr. John Moore, Master of the Richard and Mary Transport.

[1] Captain Paul Henry Ourry, commander of the *Success* in the expedition against Louisbourg, was subsequently commander of the *Actæon* frigate and rendered good service to Hawke at Quiberon Bay in 1759. In 1762 we find mention of Captain Ourry's activity in the West Indies while serving under Rodney.

* I have been up and down this bay at various times and seasons, in very rough weather, and always with a convoy; there does not seem to be the least occasion for anchoring to avoid danger: and I concur in opinion with many experienced seamen, as well as with the Masters of the several transports employed there from time to time, that there cannot be a finer bay, or a safer navigation any where. The currents (it is true) run between seven and eight knots, but there is not any thing to be apprehended; pilots represent more dangers in the different rivers, bays, and harbours of this country, than there are in reality.—*Note by author.*

1757. August. "SIGNALS for the undermentioned transports bound up the bay of Fundy.

At what place	Red	White	Blue	Yellow
Main topmast head	Vulture	Anna	True Briton	Alderney
Fore topmast head	John and Samuel	Amity	Berry	Rawleigh
Mizen topmast head		Neptune	Richard and Mary	Brotherhood
Starboard main topsail yard-arm	Ward	Hopewell	Heron	Mary
Larboard ditto	Halifax	Ulysses	Bristol	

"When I would speak with the Master of any of his Majesty's transports abovementioned, I will put a broad pendant, as against that ship's name. On board the Success, *&c. &c.*

"P. H. O."

[26] "Appendix to the foregoing Orders.

"If I should have any particular ship, or transport, come near enough to take orders, without hoisting a boat out, I will hoist a red flag at the flag-staff, at the mizen topmast head, with the Master's signal, and fire a gun. For a particular ship to tack, if she is a-head of me, a red flag at the foretop gallant mast head, with the Master's signal, and fire a gun. If a-stern of me, a red flag at the mizen topmast head, with ditto (as before). If I would have any ship to bear down, I will hoist a blue flag at the mizen peek, with the Master's ditto, *&c.* If any ship sees a strange sail, he will hoist his ensign at the mizen peek. If they see land,* he is to hoist his ensign on the ensign's staff, and keep it flying, until I answer by hoisting mine. As to all other signals, I refer you to those you have already received from Admiral Holborne.

"P. H. Ourry."

Having seen a list of the fleet which the enemy have at this time in the harbour of Louisbourg, I think it not im-

* If it is clear weather, you never lose sight of land between Chebucto harbour and the entrance of the bay of Fundy; and then you have it large on each side of you.—*Note by author.*

proper to present my readers with it here, and I believe it to be very authentic; it is commanded by Monsieur Bois de la Mothe[1] and Monsieur Beaufrement,[2] Vice and Rear Admirals, with a (Chef D'Escadre, or) Commodore.[3] 1757. August.

Ships Names.	Guns.	Ships Names.	Guns.
Le Tonnant	80	L'Inflexible	64
Le Formidable	80	La Celebre	64
Le Duc de Bourgogne	80	Le Belier	64
Le Defenseur	74	La Bizarre	64
One of the Toulon squadron	74	L'Achilles	64
La Diademe	74	Le Sage	64
Le Heros	74	La Brune	30 Frigates.
La Superbe	74	Le Bien Acquise	34
Another of the Toulon squ.	74	La Comette	30
Le Dauphin Royal	70	Le Fleur de Lys	30
L'Eveillè	64	L'Emoine	34
	818	Ships 17. Frig. 5. Tot. 22.	Tot. 1360

[1] Emmanuel-Auguste de Cahideuc, Count du Bois de la Motte, third son of Jean-François, first of the name, and of Gillonne-Charlotte de Langan, born at Rennes in 1683, entered the navy in 1698, became Vice-Admiral of France, and obtained the Grand Cross of St. Louis; served with distinction in America, and died in 1764.

[2] See p. 29, note 2.

[3] Mante (*History of the Late War in America*, p. 101) gives this list of the French ships in Louisbourg.

Under M. Revest.

Le Hector	74 guns	Le Vaillant	64 guns
L'Achille	64 guns	Le Sage	64 guns

Under M. Beaufremont.

L'Etonnant	80 guns	L'Inflexible	64 guns
Le Defenseur	74 guns	L'Eveillé	64 guns
Le Diademe	74 guns		

Under M. de la Mothe.

Le Duc de Bourgogne	80 guns	Le Dauphin Royal	70 guns
Le Formidable	84 guns	Le Bellequeux	64 guns
Le Superbe	74 guns	Le Celebre	64 guns
Le Glorieux	74 guns	Le Bizarre	64 guns
Le Heros	74 guns		

Frigates.

La Brune	36 guns	La Hermione	26 guns
Le Bienacquis	40 guns	La Fochine	36 guns
La Comete	30 guns	La Fleur de lis	36 guns

M. du Revest entered the navy as a midshipman on May 15, 1716. He became commander on August 1, 1750, and died at Brest on the return from Ile Royale, when commanding the *Hector*, December 31, 1757.

1757. August. [27] Besides the troops that were in Louisbourg before the junction of the fleet, four more regiments arrived with it, *viz.* Berry, D'Artois, Bourgoz, and Maille (a French battalion generally consists of 500 rank and file, but, how many battalions are comprised in those regiments, I cannot say.)

It is to be observed, that the troops in North America are daily supplied with ship provisions (independent of their pay) from his Majesty's stores, according to the Earl of Loudoun's regulation, which bears date at Albany the 21st of September, 1756, and was this day made known to the army in public orders.

A Colonel	6	Quarter Master	2
Lieutenant Colonel	4	Surgeon	2
Major	4	Mate	1
Captain	3	Serjeant	1
Lieutenant	2	Corporal	1
Ensign	2	Private	1
Chaplain	2	Drummer	1
Adjutant	2		

*Rations *per* Day. Rations *per* Day.

Chief Engineer	5	Master Apothecary	3
Engineer in ordinary ranking as Captain	3	Ditto's Mate	1
Other Engineers as Subalterns	2	Matron	1
Director of the Hospital	5	Commissary of Stores	3
Clerk of ditto	1	Clerk of ditto	2
Master Surgeon	3	Ditto Overseer	1
Surgeon's Mate	1	Extra Clerks	1
		Artificers	1

Rations *per* Day. Rations *per* Day.

The artillery are to be served with provisions, in the same manner as the rest of the army, the Commanding Officers, as Majors; and to draw four rations *per* day. A Lieutenant Colonel or Major commanding a battalion may draw six

* A ration is a certain proportion of provisions or forage: a soldier's allowance *per* week is seven pounds of beef, or, in lieu thereof, four pounds of pork, which is thought to be an equivalent; seven pounds of biscuit bread, or the same weight of flour; six ounces of butter, three pints of pease, half a pound of rice; and this is called seven rations.—*Note by author.*

rations each : no Officers are to [28] receive money for their provisions ; what he does not take in kind, at the regular times of issuing, to be a saving to the Government. 1757. August.

With regard to the currency of money, the dollars (says the Earl of Loudoun in this day's orders) together with all the other denominations of that species, are to be issued out to subsist the troops, as they are remitted by the Government ; that is to say, the dollar at 4s. 8d. and the rest in proportion. Throughout this province the dollar passes for five shillings, which is called the currency of Nova Scotia. 9th.

This evening the Commander in Chief embarked on board the Winchelsea man of war, and proposes sailing for New-York, with the first fair wind. 10th.

The regiments that are ordered for the bay of Fundy are to be quartered in the following manner ; after the expedition up St. John's river, the 27th is to proceed to Boston ; six companies of the 43d are to garrison Annapolis ; the other four will sail back to Halifax, and march directly to fort Edward, distant from thence about twelve leagues ; and the 46th regiment is to occupy fort Cumberland : the weather changeable, and in general wet. 11th.

Our men take great quantities of fish over the ships sides ; they are chiefly mackarel and polluc : our transports are now much crowded, and, there not being sufficient births, or accommodations, for the number of men on board, we are obliged to have recourse to the following expedient : "A man from each birth mounts guard every day on the main deck, with a Serjeant and Corporal ; and they remain above, for the better convenience of the rest below, until they are relieved ; there are several sentinels posted both fore and aft, who have orders given them with respect to fire and candle ; also with regard to boats going from, or coming to the ship, to prevent spirituous liquors being brought on board, and likewise the smoking of tobacco." This guard is superintended by an Officer, who is obliged, as the troops are served with an 12th.

1757. August. allowance of rum instead of beer, to see the same issued out every [29] day, and mixed with water; each soldier's daily proportion is a jill of this spirit, with three of water: wet sultry weather, with thick fogs.

A detachment of one Subaltern, one Serjeant, Corporal, Drummer, and thirty men of the 43d regiment, disembarked this morning, and marched to fort Edward to relieve the like detachment from the troops of this province.

14th. This morning a soldier fell over-board from our ship, and narrowly escaped being drowned. In consequence of a signal from the Success, our squadron unmoored, fell down below George's island, and came to an anchor in fifteen fathom water; the Masters of transports, bound to the bay of Fundy, are ordered to provide themselves with pilots immediately: it was intended we should sail this day, but, the weather and wind being both unfavorable, we are detained.—The prices we paid for the following articles of provisions were, beef and mutton six-pence *per* pound; veal from one shilling to one shilling and six-pence; fresh butter (scarce and very indifferent) sixteen-pence; milk four-pence *per* quart; a loaf of good soft bread (about three pounds and an half) one shilling; most kinds of fish, and particularly lobsters,* in great plenty; but the demand for them was such as rendered them much dearer than might be expected. The town of Halifax is large: the streets (which are not paved) are tolerably regular, and of a good breadth; but their houses, upon a nearer view, are mean, and do not display any great knowledge of architecture, much less of taste, in those who erected them; which in general, together with a capacious church †, are of wood, and

* Their shells are softer than in Europe, and, when boiled, turn to a greenish colour, instead of red; they are neither so firm, or well-flavoured, as those that are taken on the British coasts.—*Note by author.*

† This edifice is remarkable for two particularities: in the first place, it is the only English church, chapel, or house, dedicated to Divine worship throughout this whole province;[1] and, in the next, it differs in situation from churches in general, standing due North and South.—*Note by author.*

[1] This statement cannot be absolutely true. There had been a garrison

covered with the same [30] materials. Great allowances must nevertheless be made for a settlement still in its infancy, and the inhabitants, together with the troops, have had incredible difficulties to struggle with : one circumstance however is to be regretted, namely, that the settlers who are of different countries (as well as religions) have no great inducements to continue here, the country about it being entirely rude, and not worth cultivating : consequently as their chief prospects of gain, and dependence for support, are by the sale of slops, haberdashery wares, and liquors to the navy and army (which is a precarious trade) the inhabitants can at best be only reputed sojourners ; for, as their profits upon these several articles are immense, so it is natural to suppose they will remove to some less inhospitable climate, where they may enjoy their wealth more to their satisfaction, or lay it out to good advantage in land and agriculture. Their batteries, citadel, and other fortifications are of timber, these being thought sufficient to protect them against an Indian enemy ; but the channel of the river is well defended by a respectable battery on the eastern shore, and by several others upon George's island ; there is also a post at the head of this river, where there is a small picketed fort, called Fort Sackville,[1] occupied by a party of regulars ; this is about twelve miles from Halifax. They have here great variety of excellent fish, the staple commodity of this country and its dependent islands : as for the other necessaries and conveniences of life, they must be indebted for them to New-England, the other provinces to the south- 1757. August.

chapel at Annapolis since 1710. In 1749 two missionaries were sent to Nova Scotia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and they and their successors must have officiated in other places besides St. Paul's Church, Halifax, which was opened on September 2, 1750. From 1754 regular services were held at Lunenburg, but they seem to have been usually in German or French. A dissenting church was opened in Halifax in 1751. See *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 1701–1892 (4th edition, 1894), pp. 107 *et seq.*

[1] Fort Sackville, a post at the head of Chebucto Bay or Basin, about 12 miles by water and 15 miles by land from Halifax.

1757. August. ward, and to the mother-country ; but I must not omit that Chebucto or Halifax harbour is one of the finest in the whole world, for depth of water, good anchorage and safety : they have a royal dock here, with all the conveniences for the largest first-rate ship to heave down and careen ; moreover, it very rarely happens, that this harbour is frozen up in the winter ; for which several reasons, it is the rendezvous of all his Majesty's ships in America, and is [31] frequently resorted to by others from the West-Indies, whenever they have occasion to undergo any repairs.

16th. At six o'clock this morning, fine weather though very sharp, a signal was made to unmoor, and the whole fleet and convoy sailed soon after ; about ten, we met an express sloop from Boston, with dispatches to the Earl of Loudoun, importing, that the enemy had laid close siege to fort William-Henry;[1] whereupon a signal was made, and the fleet came near and lay to. A council of war was held on board the Winchelsea, in consequence whereof two of the regiments that had been destined to sail with us up the bay, *viz.* the 27th and 46th, were ordered to proceed with his Excellency to New-York, and an express was sent back to General Hopson at Halifax, to embark the 28th regiment, and send them immediately after us. There being a detachment of the former of these corps stationed on board the Success to serve as marines, which consisted of a Lieutenant, two Serjeants, one Drummer, and sixty rank and file, the same was instantly ordered to be relieved by the like command from the 43d regiment, and this unpleasant service fell to my lot ; the removal from one ship to another in a trifling cock-boat, the wind blowing fresh with a short tumbling sea, rendered it very disagreeable, and more so still, as I had not time to take some live stock, good liquor, or sweet water, with me, which we had on board our transport in plenty, and they were wanted on board the Success : this circumstance I had much cause to regret during the remainder

[1] Fort William Henry ; see note, p. 67.

of our voyage. About five o'clock, every thing being now settled pursuant to this change in affairs, the several squadrons made sail, Lord Loudoun's to the southward for New-York; Admiral Holborne's to the eastward for Louisbourg; and Captain Ourry's for the bay of Fundy. 1757. August.

Fine weather with gentle breezes: the expedition up St. John's river[1] is laid aside for this year, and, it being apprehended that the enemy may attempt this autumn to strike *a coup* in this province, and try to recover fort Cumberland, we are to proceed thither [32] without delay. Mr. Ourry being desirous to see my detachment exercise in the marine way, which is nothing more than, after firing over the ship's side, to fall down upon one knee, so as to be under cover, and load again; we performed these firings repeatedly for an hour: the men were formed into three divisions, two upon the quarter-deck, and one upon the forecastle, facing the starboard side of the ship, and then fired, right, left, and center; afterwards several vollies were discharged, and the men acquired great applause from Governor Lawrence and our Vice-Commodore. 17th.

Fine weather: our squadron all in sight, with a full view of the island of La Have, at the distance of five leagues North and by West; turned out a wet night. 18th.

Moderate, though hazy, weather: spoke this morning with a schooner from Connecticut (New England) but received no intelligence; this night came on a very thick fog. 19th.

Thick foggy weather, with light airs: to avoid running foul of the land, it was thought proper to sound; got twenty fathom water, the bottom a white and red gravel; at eleven o'clock the weather cleared up; found ourselves on Port Mouton fishing-bank, met with several schooners who were fishing there, and exchanged three men with them: we lay to on this bank, there being little wind, and caught some cod and polluc: got a sight of Lord Loudoun's squadron, at the 20th.

[1] St. John's River; see note 2, p. 281.

1757. August. distance of about three leagues, bearing away South and by West of us; discovered Hopeful[1] and Port Mouton islands, the former West and by North of our course, the latter North half West, each at the distance of a league and an half: spoke with a sloop from New-York, bound to Halifax with stores and provisions, and a bag of letters for the Earl of Loudoun: by him we are informed, that the inhabitants of the province where he came from are under the greatest apprehensions, lest Monsieur Montcalm should pay them a visit; by his accounts, the French army at fort William-Henry amount to almost 15000 men; that the provinces had levied an army of 22000 to stop their progress, some [33] contributing a fourth, and others a sixth man; I observed that Governor Lawrence paid little regard to any of this intelligence, either respecting the enemy, which he thought extravagant; or the new levies, which he seemed to have no great opinion of, for immediate service. At night hazy weather, and blew fresh.

21st. Dark foggy weather with fresh gales: sounded in forty-five fathom water, a rocky bottom; the pilot calls this ground Portabere[2] fishing-bank, says it is the finest in this country, and that he would engage with five or six lines to take a thousand cod in the space of one hour: sounded again at three o'clock, forty-five fathom, a rocky bottom with some shells: the fogs inconceivably thick on this coast: sounded at midnight in ninety fathom water, the bottom muddy.

22d. Fine clear weather, the air sharp: at seven o'clock Cape Negro bore North-East between six and seven leagues. This forenoon, by way of exercising the seamen, the ship was cleared for fighting; the gunners and artificers, with the marines, were stationed at their respective quarters; the guns were all run out and in, as if really engaged, and I had an opportunity of seeing a sham sea-fight, which was well per-

[1] Now known as Little Hope Island. Under the French régime it was called Isle aux Cannes.

[2] This is now Port le Bear. It is frequently referred to as Port à l'Ours.

formed, and very entertaining. At one o'clock we spoke with a sloop bound to Boston from Halifax, which port she left the 20th instant; this is a proof of the perverseness of our wind and weather, though allowances must be made for a ship's sailing in convoy, as she cannot make that dispatch which a single vessel may do. We have at length doubled Cape Sable, and entered the bay of Fundy; the cape bears E. S. E. at the distance of nine leagues: we likewise doubled Cape Assous[1] (perhaps for *de soû* or *à soû;* these are names I learn from our pilot) also Green and Seal islands; the former at about five leagues W. N. W. the others which are numerous on our starboard side, at two leagues distance, and lie about E. and E. S. E. of our course. This cape (Sable) joins to the main land, and those islands, which lie contiguous to it, were all inhabited by Neutral French, as they were called, and [34] produced great plenty of excellent poultry, vegetables in the greatest perfection, and as fine hay as any in New England. Fell little wind towards evening, and weather hazy: we have taken an incredible number of cod and black polluc this afternoon: sounded at seven o'clock in twenty-eight fathom water, the bottom brown sand and shells. 1757. August.

Early this morning the weather hazy with much rain and squally, which died away towards noon; saw Long Island at the distance of three leagues at S. E. About four o'clock the wind fair with moderate breezes, sounded in forty-five fathom water, a muddy bottom; at five sounded again in eighteen fathom, and hard ground;—most happily escaped running a-shore in the fog; the land lay E. N. E. and W. S. W. put about ship, and fired eight guns, as a signal for the convoy to lie to, in order to prevent their running on the land, which was within less than half a mile of us; at a quarter past six the fog began to disperse, and we discovered an opening, but, being still hazy weather along shore, we could not be certain whether it was the entrance of Annapolis river (commonly 23d.

[1] This is evidently Cape Fourchu, now Yarmouth.

1757. August. called, and best known by this vulgar epithet, the Gut of Annapolis) or Gulliver's Hole ;[1] it bore S. E. of us : while the weather cleared, we discovered our convoy far a-head of us, but right in their course : at night the fog increased with a small rain.

24th. Fair weather with moderate breezes : at eight o'clock got a view of the High Island[2] (called by the French La Haute Isle, and corruptly by English pilots the Island of Holt) it is a very high land, and, with its foggy cap, made a pleasing and respectable appearance : here the bay is about eight leagues over, and the land high on each side ; in our course we kept the island aboard, at the distance of two miles, S. E. Cape Dore, or d'Or) lies to the eastward of Haute Isle ; Cape Checnecto,[3] N. E. of our course, and to the northward of Dore : on which last are the Copper Mines, from whence the Cape bears its name, or more properly from [35] a supposition, upon their first discovery, that they would produce gold.*

At nine o'clock cape Checnecto bore S. E. somewhat less than a league's distance ; here the bay is better than four leagues over. At eleven we kept Apple River a-board, at the distance of a mile E. and by S. of our course, the bay then about three leagues over ; the current here runs between five and six knots. At noon we spoke with the York sloop of this province, Silvester Cobb,[4] Master, from fort Cumber-

[1] Still so called.

[2] Isle Haute, an island in the Minas Channel off Cape Chignecto.

[3] Cape Chignecto.

* About six or seven years ago (*Anno* 1750, or 51) a company came here from England, to prove these mines ; they took a cargo of the ore back with them, but never returned here since.—*Note by author.*

[4] Sylvanus Cobb was born at Plymouth, New England, in 1709. In 1745 he took part in the expedition against Louisbourg as a Captain in Goreham's regiment. During the years 1747–8 he was in command of a small armed vessel in the Bay of Fundy. After the foundation of Halifax, in 1749, Cobb was given command of the sloop *York*, and, becoming well acquainted with the harbours of Nova Scotia, rendered valuable service to the Government. At the second siege of Louisbourg, in 1758, he served under Boscawen and Amherst, and was chosen by Monckton to conduct Wolfe to make a reconnaissance of the fortress. In 1762 he was employed in an expedition against

Chippody Bay
Grindstone Island
Cape Mascarenquin
Beaubasin
BAY of FUNDY
Explanation
A English Fort
B French Fort
C Place where the English Man of War lyes
D River Tentamar
E River du Lac
F River Mesquash on which the Vessells by that bringe Provisions & Stores to the English Fort
G River la Planche
H River Macan
I River Napan
K River de Mene
L Dykes to keep the Tides from the Marshes Dykes cutted by the English from which
O the Indians used to Fire at the Vessells as they came up the River Mesquash
P Road to the Bay fort
Q French Fort at the Bay fort
R Form a Point a Small part possessed by the French
A View of the French Fort
Crossing Place
River Chignecto
Bay
A DRAUGHT of the ISTHMUS which joins Nova Scotia to the Continent with the Situation of the ENGLISH and FRENCH Forts & the Adjacent BAYS and RIVERS
Scale of Miles

A DRAUGHT OF THE ISTHMUS WHICH JOINS NOVA SCOTIA TO THE CONTINENT

Showing the English and French Forts. From a photograph in the Dominion Archives of a manuscript in the British Museum

land, and bound to fort Edward (or Pisaquid) the Captain was taken on board the Success, and his sloop ordered back to the fort to apprize the Commanding Officer of the Governor's arrival. About one o'clock we made Chepordie Hill,[1] said to be the highest land in Nova Scotia ; it bore N. E. and by N. at the distance of seven leagues ; cape Orage,[2] likewise in view, stood North, and here the bay is about seven miles over. At four o'clock cape Melenquin,[3] on the North shore, lies N. W. and by N. of our course, a pleasant prospect everywhere : here the bay is not above three miles over, and the banks on each side are of the finest verdant green. About an hundred and sixty yards from each shore are delightful woods, seemingly as if arranged with design, and much resembling the artificial groves, without any undergrowth or incumbrance below, which one frequently meets with about noblemen's and gentlemen's seats in Europe ; here the water is of a turbid colour,[4] and not unlike the Thames at London. About six o'clock we sailed through the Joggen,[5] and soon after came to an anchor in the Bason, called by the French (with much propriety, Beau Bassin, about five miles from Beau Sejour, now fort Cumberland ; the rest of our squadron joined us in less than an hour, and anchored also, where an

1757. August.

Havana, where he died of fever. Cobb, while not in active service, resided at Liverpool, Nova Scotia. (Akins, *Selections from Public Documents of Nova Scotia*, p. 182. See also p. 323, where name is given as John Silvester.)

[1] Shepody Hill, or Mountain: it is 1050 feet high, but by no means the highest land in Nova Scotia. (The editor owes this and many other notes on this part of the work to the courtesy of Professor W. F. Ganong, of Northampton, Mass.)

[2] Cape Enragé; called locally, Roshea. (*Professor Ganong.*)

[3] Cape Meringouin.

[4] The colour is a dull red, due to the sediment scoured up by the great tidal currents from the dark red sandstones of the region. It is this sediment which is building up the great and valuable marshes so prominent at the head of the Bay. (*Professor Ganong.*)

[5] Joggins, a name given by the author to the entrance to Cumberland Bay. Joggin is a corruption of the French word, *ni jagon*, a weir. At the present time there are two places in Nova Scotia bearing this name. North Joggin is on the north side of Cumberland, and South Joggin on the south side.

1757. August. hundred sail of the line may ride in safety without crowding; and, from the time we entered [36] this bay, we found water enough every-where for a first rate ship of war. The Governor and our naval Commander lost no time in going a-shore under a discharge of fifteen guns from the Success; my young marines were drawn up on this occasion, not with their fire-locks, there not being room to handle them properly, but with cutlasses belonging to the ship; and, upon the Governor's landing, he was saluted from the fort also with fifteen guns.

25th. His Excellency and the Commodore returned on board early this morning, and the transports were ordered up nearer to the fort for the convenience of landing the regiment and the baggage of the Officers: upon this occasion the True Briton had a fortunate escape, for, when the tide left her, she lay athwart a creek, and thereby endangered the breaking her back; however, by disembarking the detachment, in order to lighten her, she was got off without receiving any damage, and the men were sent on board again; here the tide rises to the height of sixty feet and upwards.[1] I was ordered a-shore this day, to assist the Quarter-master in marking out ground for the regiment to incamp on; which we accordingly executed under the cannon of the fort, leaving a proper space on our right for the 28th regiment, hourly expected: here we found a detachment, equal to a battalion, from the 40th, 45th, and 47th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wilmot,[2] who entertained the Governor and his company with great hospitality; at nine o'clock in the evening, I returned with the Governor and Commodore on board the Success.

26th. The 43d regiment disembarked and incamped this day; fine weather until after night-fall, when it set in for rain, which continued incessantly for the space of twenty-four hours, with great violence, accompanied with thunder and lightning.

[1] This statement is accurate for the higher, though not for ordinary tides. (*Professor Ganong.*)

[2] See note, p. 212.

My detachment was ordered on shore from the frigate; we were five hours rowing against wind and tide, and the rain never ceased; the men were much to be commiserated, not being able to change [37] their cloaths; and our camp was a perfect swamp; as my party was landed without the Governor's knowledge, he ordered it to be replaced by the like numbers from the troops in garrison. 1757. August. 27th.

Fair weather to-day, but inclining to damp: a deserter is arrived from the island of Cape Breton, who says, "that a large body of troops from thence are preparing to invade this province:" when the 28th regiment joins us, we are to intrench our camp. There is a large blockhouse here, advanced about a quarter of a mile N. E. of the fort, upon the skirts of the wood leading to Baye Verde (or Green Bay)[1] which is occupied by an Officer, two Serjeants, a Gunner, a Drummer, and thirty-two rank and file, to prevent any surprise to the garrison from that quarter; this house is an excellent fortress against musketry only, constructed of large square timbers, and consists of three floors or stories; the first is twenty feet square, the middle one twenty-two, and the upper twenty-four feet; there are port-holes in each face of the second floor for cannon, there being two six pounders, on ship carriages, mounted, and always ready loaded.—Each of the two upper floors project, or extend, two feet beyond the apartment immediately below them, with round holes at certain distances about eight inches diameter, through which to fire musketry or throw grenado's, in case the enemy should attempt to fire the house; besides these, there are numbers of loop-holes in each face for the service of small arms, which of course render it an airy habitation to those who are to defend it. The Officer has orders to maintain this post to the last extremity; for this purpose, he is provided with a 28th.

[1] Baye Verte. This blockhouse is still known to tradition, and its approximate site is mentioned in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. v. sec. ii. (1899), p. 290. (*Professor Ganong.*)

1757. August. week's provisions, and a large quantity of ammunition, both for his cannon and musketry. Such is the barrier to most of the forts and garrisons in America, where an Officer and thirty men may make a noble defence against any numbers whatsoever, provided there are no artillery brought against him, or that the enemy do not attempt to fire it with arrows, which, I am told, has been practised by the Savages [38] heretofore, where there have not been any ordnance mounted to oblige them to keep their distance.

29th. Gloomy weather to-day ; a detachment is gone out to cut and make fascines and pickets for intrenchments, that are to be thrown up here with all expedition : we are credibly informed the enemy threaten to come and retake this fort : at night the blockhouse was alarmed by one of its advanced centries, who is posted in the skirt of the wood ; he fired his piece at a man as he imagined, who was advancing towards him ; however it appeared to be a mistake, and is rather supposed to have been a wild dog or fox, with which the forests here are much infested.

30th. The 28th regiment came to an anchor this day in the bason from Halifax ; near to which place, a body of French and Indians have lately shewed themselves at Dartmouth, on the opposite side of the river.

31st. No alteration in the weather these two days : the 28th regiment disembarked, and incamped on the right of the 43d ; by them we are confidently assured, that a large corps of regular and light troops are upon their march to retake this fortress, and are commanded by Monsieur Bois Hibert,[1] a

[1] Charles Des Champs de Boishébert et de Raffetot was born in Quebec on February 7, 1727. He was the son of Henri Des Champs de Boishébert and Louise Geneviève de Ramezay. At the age of fifteen he was attached to the garrison of Quebec as regimental adjutant. In 1743 he was sent to Fort St. Frederick under Fonville. In 1746 he accompanied his uncle, De Ramezay, in his expedition to Acadia, and took part in the attack at Grand Prée in February, 1747. Two years later he was sent by La Gallissonière to the mouth of the St. John River with a detachment of 180 men, where he arrived in April, 1749. During the same year, Boishébert made his headquarters at

CHARLES DES CHAMPS DE BOISHÉBERT

After the painting in the possession of the St. Ours family, St. Ours, P.Q.

famous partisan,[1] who is Lieutenant for the French King in this province, where I find, by the following manifesto he has resided for some years : 1757. August.

"Nous Officier commandant pour le Roy à la Riviere St. "Jean, et de toute L'Acadie Françoise, et ses dependances.

"Comme l'interêt sordide, plus que tout autre motif, engage "les Accadiens à s'exposer à un danger visible d'être pris des "Anglois, et que nous avons des exemples recentés des risques "qu'on courrut quelques mauvais sujets, qui sont peut être "pris.

"A cette cause defendons à tous Accadiens, sous quelque

a place now known as Woodman's Point. Here he built a small fort, to which he gave the name of Nerepice. In the spring of 1751 he was replaced by M. de Gaspé, and in October was sent to France with despatches from La Jonquière. He returned to Quebec in 1752, and the next year was sent to Presqu'île, where a fort was to be built. In 1754 he was placed in command of the fort at the mouth of the St. John River. A few days after the surrender of Beauséjour, in 1755, Monckton sent a detachment of 1500 men to attack Boishébert in his fort. Seeing that resistance was useless he destroyed all the buildings, and with forty men moved higher up the river. During the month of August in the same year, Boishébert learned that the Acadians of Beauséjour had been made prisoners, and that others were exposed to hardships in the woods. He decided, therefore, to go to their relief with a small body of troops and Indians, amounting in all to 125 men. He left on August 20 for the head of the Petitcodiac River, the site of the present town of Moncton, where he arrived on the 26th. Here he learned that three vessels with 300 men had left Beauséjour and were on their way to destroy the settlements of Shepody and Petitcodiac. During the night he crossed the river with his men in canoes, but could not prevent the destruction of the settlement on the Shepody River. At Hillsborough, however, the principal settlement of the Acadians, he fell upon the enemy, and during an engagement which lasted three hours, killed 42 men and wounded 45. His own loss was one killed and a few wounded. After this engagement he left for the St. John River. In the autumn he established at Cocagne a camp, which still bears the name of Boishébert's Camp. During the summer of 1756 he gathered the Acadians who were on the Cocagne River and transported them to Miramichi. Boishébert's conduct met with the approval of the King, and in the despatches he is frequently referred to. In the year 1758 he was ordered by Vaudreuil to proceed to Louisbourg, and was rewarded for his services during the year with the Cross of St. Louis.

[1] *Partizan* is here used in the sense of a "leader of a band" rather than as an adherent to a party.

1757. August. "pretexte que ce puisse être, de sortir de leurs habitations, ou "endroits qu'ils habitent, sans mon agrément.

[39] "Promettons cinquante livres de gratification à qui- "conque nous declarera à l'avenir ces malfaiteurs, et admone- "strons ces derniers de trois cents livres à prendre sur les "meubles et immeubles, et les envoyrons à Québec, comme "sujets rebelles et prejudiciables au bien public.

"Ordonnons à tous Capitaines de faire publier dans leurs "rivieres et dependances le present.

"Auquel avons fait apposer le cachet de nos armes pour "que personne n'en pretende cause d'ignorance ; fait triple à "mon camp le 20me Decembre 1755.

"Bois Hibert."

N.B. Pour mes armes, trois canards regardants.

In English thus :

We the Officer commanding for The King, on the river St. John, and in all French Acadia, and their dependencies.

As sordid interest, rather than any other motive, induces the Acadians to expose themselves to the apparent danger of being taken by the British, and that we have recent examples of the risks which worthless subjects incur, who are perhaps taken.

For this cause We command all the Acadians, not to leave their habitations, or places of residence, without our permission, under any pretence whatsoever.

And We promise a reward of fifty livres (about two pounds, five shillings, sterling)[1] to any person who shall advertise us of such transgressors for the future ; and We admonish these last, under the penalty of three hundred livres, to be levied upon their goods and chattels, besides causing them to be transmitted to Quebec as rebellious subjects, and prejudicial to the public good.

[1] This gives a somewhat greater value to the franc or livre than it bears to-day, the pound sterling being equal to twenty-five francs and a fraction.

And We command all Captains of Militia to circulate and publish these our Orders on all their rivers and districts. 1757. August.

[40] To three of these presents We have fixed the seal of our arms (*viz.* three ducks regardant) that no person whatsoever may plead ignorance.

Given at our camp,[1] this twentieth day of December, 1755.

Bois Hibert.

Our Commodore has received a letter from Admiral Holborne, who was returned to Chebucto (Halifax) from Louisbourg, wherein he informs him, that he looked into the harbour with his own ship, and reckoned eighteen capital ships of the enemy's, some of which were much larger than many of those under his command; and he is of opinion there could not be less than seven thousand men intrenched along shore; that he drew up his fleet in the bay, in order of battle; but the enemy would not come out.[2] The Admiral has recommended it to the Commodore to repair, without loss of time, to Annapolis Royal, as he thinks he will be safer under the cannon of that fortress than here. A council of war has

[1] Probably Boishébert's Fort, on the St. John, at the mouth of the Nerepis. See *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. v. sec. ii. (1899), 276.

[2] The significance of the failure of the French fleet to attack the British ships when cruising off Louisbourg, even though superior in strength, is pointed out by the writer of the *Remarks upon a Letter published in the London Chronicle, containing an Enquiry into the Causes of the Failure of the late Expedition against Cape Breton* (London, 1757):

"As this account, Sir, of the behaviour of the French fleet appears to have been sent from on board the Admiral's own ship by some Officer, who could not be mistaken in it, and it is agreeable to their former behaviour in suffering the Admiral to cruize with five or six ships of the line off the harbour without molestation, it seems to put it out of all doubt that the Troops might have been landed on Cape Breton without any risque of the French Fleet's coming out to attack Mr. Holbourn; especially considering the intelligence, which the General and Admiral had received, that the French crews were very sickly; which intirely accounts for the behaviour of the French in both cases.

"It is agreed on all hands, that since Mr. Holbourn has been reinforced with the four ships last sent him, the French Admiral has not discovered the least disposition of coming out of the harbour."

1757. August. been held in the fort, upon the measures to be taken in case the enemy should put their threats in execution. Our men load their arms now upon all duties, and the centinels have orders not to suffer any person to pass them in the night, without giving them the countersign, or second watch-word.

September. 1st. This day the 28th and 43d regiments moved their camp nearer to the glacis of the fort, in order to render it more compact; for this purpose they are confined to closer distances than usual, in larger armies and incampments; as the men are growing sickly, by reason of the wetness of our camp, they are ordered to bed their tents well with the boughs of spruce for want of straw, and the Officers have got boards to floor their markees: it is inconceivable what quantities of mice we have on this ground, insomuch that one can scarce walk a few paces without seeing or treading on them; they burrow under the decayed roots and stumps of trees, that [41] formerly grew here, and I am told they have been frequently eaten by the French inhabitants, as well as by our troops, when fresh provisions have been scarce: I am likewise assured, that the soldiers have also fed upon dogs and cats, under the same circumstances. We are tormented here, both day and night, with myriads of musketa's, which are so immensely troublesome, that we are obliged to have recourse to various expedients to defend ourselves from them. We have begun this day to intrench our camp; for this purpose some Officers who had served in the Netherlands, during the late war, (of which I was one) were this day appointed Overseers of his Majesty's works, at three shillings *per* day each, which is to be continued while we are employed on that service; a few expert Serjeants from each regiment are also employed to lay fascines, and instruct the soldiers, who are each to be allowed one shilling *per* day.—Our troops and centinels are ordered to be very alert and circumspect, some parties of the enemy having shewed themselves, from the shore, to our ships in the bason; a small number of these

fellows came here on the 20th ult. before our arrival, and carried off above sixty head of black cattle, and some horses that were grazing within less than a quarter of a mile of the fort. The Alderney hospital ship, one of our squadron, has landed several sick men, and a house is provided for their reception; their disorders are spotted fevers and dysenteries; it is remarkable, that seventeen men have died on board this ship, in the short passage from Halifax here, which exceeds the number lost by the seven regiments in their long voyage from Europe; these casualties, nevertheless, are not to be imputed to the climate, as will hereafter appear. The garrison, before we came here, were supplied by contract with fresh beef, mutton, and pork, at four pence *per* pound; milk at three pence *per* quart; and eggs at fifteen pence *per* dozen: we are also served upon the same terms, but the first of these articles is rendered scarce by the foregoing disaster of the 20th of August; soft bread is not to be had here for want of flour, which, however, is [42] supplied by biscuits served out with our salt provisions from the stores. 1757. September.

The weather cool and windy, with frequent showers: between detachments, fatigue, and camp duties, the subalterns, non-commissioned and private men, have very little time for rest; a reserve from each regiment, consisting of a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and sixteen[1] rank and file, with Serjeants and Drummers in proportion, mount every evening at retreat beating, and patrole the camp every night continually. 2d.

Our trenches are in great forwardness, weather variable, and generally cold for this season, which we partly impute to the extreme wetness of our camp: a sloop came yesterday on this side of the Joggen near to the bason, and went off again: she is supposed to be a spy from St. John's river; had she been a friend, there was not any thing to obstruct her coming to an anchor, and she could not have been forced thither by any perverseness of wind or weather. 5th.

[1] "sixty": see Errata.

1757. September. Another deserter is come in from Cape-Breton; he says, "the enemy expect to subdue this province to the French "arms, before the severity of the winter sets in;" our works go on vigorously. The country here is infinitely preferable to that about Halifax, and there are many vestiges, every-where, of the industry of the pretended neutrals, its late inhabitants. Between nine and ten o'clock this night, a detachment of the troops, in camp and garrison, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh,[1] with a company of rangers, were ordered to proceed to Gasperau,[2] and Baye Verde, as well to reconnoitre the country, as destroy the roads and bridges,—and render them as impassable as possible; they have taken three days provisions with them.——[Baye Verde[3] lies eastward of this fort, at the distance of about thirteen miles; and it is from thence we expect the enemy will visit us, if they should put their threats in execution.]

7th. The detachment returned this evening all safe and well: they destroyed eleven bridges, cut trenches in many parts of the road, [43] burned three large boats, and a schooner that lay at anchor in the bay; they neither met with men or cattle, nor could they discover any human tracks in any part of the country where they have been: the weather is now dry and warmer than of late.

8th. This morning a sloop arrived from Halifax; in her passage here, she called at Annapolis Royal, whence we are informed, that they had lately sustained a great loss at that place, by a party of the enemy who came down, took away all their cattle, and burned several store-houses; that the garrison were

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt Walsh was in the 28th or Bragg's Regiment, and in 1766 became Colonel of the 56th Regiment. He appears to have commanded the 28th during this expedition. He was the eldest son of John Walsh of Burton Hall, co. Carlow, Ireland. He left the army on inheriting from his uncle the family property of Ballykilcaven, and became member of the Irish Parliament for Wareborough. He died unmarried in 1795. During the campaign of 1759 he was in command of the 28th Regiment, and further references will be made to his services in the second volume.

[2] See note, p. 83.

[3] Baye Verte.

so weak, as to numbers, that they could not venture to sally out and pursue them : by this vessel we also learn, that some corps of new-raised Highlanders were arrived at Chebuctoe. 1757. September.

By a letter which I have received, from a brother Officer at New-York, dated August the 13th, I have the following information of the fate of fort William-Henry,[1] and of its late garrison :

"Lieutenant-Colonel Monroe[2] commanded there with "about two thousand men, composed, by detachments, from "the 35th regiment, the 60th, and a body of the New Jersey "Militia ; part of which were entrenched in the lines adjoining "to the fort : on the third instant, an army under the Marquis "de Mont-Calm (Captain-General, and Commander in Chief of "the French forces in Canada)[3] consisting of eight thousand

[1] Fort William Henry was at the northern extremity of Lake George, about nine or ten miles N.W. of Fort Edward. It was called by the French St. Sacrement. This fort was regarded by the French as a permanent danger to Canada.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel George Munroe of the 35th Regiment.

[3] Louis Joseph de Montcalm Gozon, Marquis de Montcalm, was born at the castle of Candiac, near Nimes, in 1712, being the son of Louis Daniel de Montcalm, seigneur de St. Véran, and of Marie-Thérèse de Castellane-Dampus. He received a good education, which he continued by private study even during camp life. At the age of nine he entered the army as ensign. He became captain in 1729, and distinguished himself at the battles of Plaisance and Exiles. Promoted to the rank of brigadier-general (*maréchal de camp*) in 1756, he was immediately sent to Canada, with Lévis and Bourlamaque under his orders. Without delay he opened the campaign and captured Fort Oswego in August, 1756. The following year he took and demolished Fort William Henry. In his third campaign he obtained, on July 8, 1758, his greatest success by entirely defeating Abercromby's invading army at Carillon or Ticonderoga. Thus, in spite of Vaudreuil's jealousy and Bigot's corrupt administration, Montcalm succeeded in keeping the British forces at bay. In 1759 he defended Quebec against Wolfe's army till defeated in the battle of the Plains on September 13. Montcalm, twice wounded, retreated into Quebec, where he died on September 14, 1759. Montcalm had married, in October 1736, Angélique-Louise Talon du Boulay, daughter of the Marquis du Boulay, and left five children. The King extended his bounty to the widow and children. One of Montcalm's sons, Paul François Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, served with distinction in the French navy. In 1789, as a delegate of the nobility to the States-General, he proposed the abolition of pensions, to which the Assembly assented, an exception being made for the families of Montcalm and d'Assas.

1757. September. "regulars and militia, some artillery, and fifteen hundred "savages, invested the place, and cut off every communication, "by which there was the least appearance, or possibility, of the "garrison, or trenches, being reinforced, either with men, "ammunition, or other stores. Colonel Monroe contrived to "convey several letters to General Webb,[1] who had retired to "fort Edward[2] with five thousand men, to wait for farther "succours, which had been promised by the several provinces; "but, these supplies not being arrived, or likely to come in "proper time, the General transmitted a letter to that effect to "the Colonel, recommending it to him to make the best terms "he could for the troops under his command. This letter was "in-[44]tercepted by the Marquis on the morning of the ninth, "and was sent by him, without delay, to the Commanding "Officer of the garrison, accompanied with a peremptory "demand of the surrender of the place, under pain of his not "having it in his power to prescribe bounds to the savages, if "he did not immediately comply. The gallant Colonel, thus "mysteriously forlorn, after making a very spirited defence, "was thereby compelled to surrender on the same day: by "which, the troops under his command are restrained from "farther service against the enemy or their allies, for the space "of eighteen months from the date of the capitulation; we had "about three hundred, of every rank, killed and wounded "during the siege; the loss of the enemy is uncertain, but, by "accounts from deserters who came to fort Edward on the "8th, their loss could not then be less than twelve hundred "men; this my dear friend (continues my correspondent) is a "great number to lose in so short a time, and where there was "no action; but the French General has acknowledged he never "saw artillery better served than those of the garrison were: "after the troops had marched out (which they were allowed to "do with the usual honours of war) the savages, who before

[1] Major-General Daniel Webb, Colonel of the 48th Regiment.
[2] Fort Edward; see note 1, p. 67.

ATTAQUES DU FORT WILLIAM-HENRI
en Amérique
par les troupes françaises aux ordres du Marquis de Montcalm.
Prise de ce fort le 7 Août 1757

RENVOIS

A. Fort William-henri B. Ouverture des tranchées la nuit du 4 au 5 Août C. Camp retranché, que les anglais allèrent occuper lors de l'arrivée des français D. Baie où les français débarquèrent leur artillerie. E. Batterie de huit canons & d'un mortier. F. Batterie de dix canons & d'un mortier. G. Batterie de six pieces, dont on ne fit aucun usage. H Position de M.r de Levi pendant l'investissement du fort. I Position des troupes durant le siége. K. Leur position après la prise pendant la demolition des retranchemens faits par les anglais ═ Troupes sauvages.

C.P.S C.M

FORT WILLIAM HENRY

Showing the attack in 1757. From a coloured engraving in the Dominion Archives of a drawing by Therbu, Lieutenant Engineer

"had been flattered with great hopes of plunder and scalps, 1757. September.
"notwithstanding the escort which our troops had to conduct
"them in safety to fort Edward, and in sight of the whole
"French army, fell upon the poor fellows with the most
"barbarous rage,[1] rifled the Officers of every thing they had,
"even to their shirts ; and basely butchered several hundreds,
"neither sparing women or children ; Colonels Monroe, Young,
"and a few Officers, with about three hundred men, retired to

[1] The massacre of Fort William Henry was certainly a most horrible affair. It is a dark page in the history of the campaign of 1757. Too vivid pictures of the ferocity of the Indians have been painted by novelists; and writers of history have not always escaped the influence of fiction. It was a breach of faith on the part of the enemy; but the enemy consisted not only of the French but of a large band of savages, and the savages were often beyond control. In placing the blame on Montcalm, few writers appear to have taken all the circumstances into consideration. When demanding the surrender of the place, Montcalm was fully aware of the desire of the Indians for revenge. Indeed, after having agreed upon the terms of capitulation, he informed the British commander that he could not pledge his word to any of the conditions until the Indians had been consulted. The chiefs assured him that they would approve all he should do, and would prevent the young men from violating the terms of the surrender. As soon as the British column left the entrenched camp from which it was to proceed under an escort of the French troops to Fort Edward, the Indians, who had obtained a supply of liquor from the British, rushed upon what they considered their vanishing prey and began their fiendish work of massacre and plunder, sparing neither age nor sex. Montcalm, Lévis, and Bourlamaque were in their quarters; but as soon as they heard of the outrage they rushed to the scene. "Interpreters, officers, priests, Canadians, all were called to help, and everyone made a strenuous effort to save the English from their assailants. But the latter, drunk with blood and homicide, would listen to no one." (*Notes sur le Voyage de M. Jonathan Carver*, by Captain Desandroüins, who was present: in *Le Maréchal de Camp Desandroüins*, by the Abbé Gabriel, p. 109.) Montcalm reminded them of their pledge, but the mischief had been done. It is difficult to estimate the number of the British killed in the treacherous affair. One French account says there were about fifty scalps and three hundred prisoners. (*Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis*, p. 102.) The prisoners were redeemed at a heavy price and sent to Boston. There were probably between five and six hundred. Montcalm certainly risked his life in attempting to appease the infuriated mob. If Montcalm's instructions regarding the supply of liquor had been faithfully carried out there would in all probability have been no massacre. But Montcalm can hardly be held responsible for this. See Doughty and Parmelee, *Siege of Quebec*, vol. i. pp. 185-195.

1757. September. "the French army, and put themselves under the Marquis's "immediate protection; how this intricate affair, the inactivity "of our forces, and this flagrant breach of faith, on the part of "the enemy, will be received at home, time only can evince. "I returned here yesterday from fort Edward; we are all in "confusion in these parts, as you may well suppose: it is said "[45] the enemy have demolished the fort, and levelled the "lines; if they should advance farther into the province, &c. "&c. Postscript. Several of the Indians did not use fire-"arms, some of our people being killed and wounded with "arrows, in the use of which those brutes are reputed very "dexterous."

I immediately waited on Governor Lawrence, and shewed him this letter, as he could not receive any authentic accounts before; he told me he had got some letters from the southward, by the way of Halifax, brought by this same sloop; but mine contained more particulars, and he was heartily sorry to believe our advices of that shameful disaster were too true.

A command of miners and colliers from the troops, with a 9th. covering party of regulars and rangers, embarked this day, on board the Bristol transport for the coal-pits, about sixteen miles from the fort, near to the Joggen, and situated between the capes of D'Or[1] and Checnecto, they have taken a fortnight's provisions with them; the men and officers will be paid for their labour and attendance, and the coals are for the use of the garrisons in the bay of Fundy.* Though we have had the weather sharp for some time, this is as hot a day as we have felt this summer, and the musketa's, from which we have had some respite, are again exceedingly tormenting; I have the pleasure to observe our sick and scorbutic men are on the recovery. The province sloop, Captain Rogers, arrived this evening from fort Edward, where he laid in a cargo of

[1] Cape Doré. These mines are still extensively worked.

* There are not better burning coals in England than these pits produce.—*Note by author.*

provisions for the use of that fortress; the intelligence received from thence is—"that, the evening before the sloop "sailed, two Chiefs of the Neutrals came to that fort, and "proposed to treat with the Commanding Officer, which they "said they would have done before, but were afraid they should "not get quarter; that the rest of their friends and neighbours "were starving, and that they came in now to sue for charity "and mercy:" the Officer referred them to [46] his Excellency, and transmitted them here by Mr. Rogers; the Governor ordered them to be confined in a decent apartment, and directed that they shall have the same allowance of provisions as are issued to the troops. 1757. September.

An expedition is talked of against the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Chepordie Hill,[1] in order to bring off their cattle, burn their corn and settlements, and other ways distress them as much as possible; this service will be performed by a detachment of 800 regulars from the garrison and lines, with our company of rangers. Pleasant weather for some days; mornings and evenings are raw and cold. We proceed at our intrenchments with great diligence, and without intermission even on Sundays: the working hours are from six to eight, from nine to twelve, and from one to six in the afternoon; the men are assembled by the ringing of a bell at the fort. The troops of this province are supplied with spruce beer, which was first introduced, during the late war, in the garrison of Louisbourg when we were in possession of it; and then the melasses were issued from the stores gratis, this liquor being thought necessary for the preservation of the healths of our men, as they were confined to salt provisions, and it is an excellent antiscorbutic:——It is made of the tops and branches of the Spruss-tree, boiled for three hours, then strained into casks, with a certain quantity of melasses; and, as soon as cold, it is fit for use.[2] 10th.

When we were incamped at Halifax, the allowance was

[1] Shepody Hill.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 375, note.

1757. September. two quarts *per* day to each man, or three gallons and an half *per* week, for which he paid seven pence New-York currency, as by the Earl of Loudoun's regulation of the 5th of July last (equal to four pence and $\frac{1}{12}$ sterling.) Here the soldiers are obliged to draw five pints *per* day, or four gallons and three pints *per* week, for which they are charged nine-pence half-penny currency of this province (equal to eight-pence and $\frac{23}{28}$ sterling) the paymaster of the 43d regiment assured me, that the spruce account for that corps, in the space of about seven weeks, amounted to eighty pounds currency.

The forces in America are generally paid in dollars, half and quarter ditto, which are issued at the rate of four shillings and eight-pence sterling, with the smaller denominations at the same proportions; the dollar passes at New-York for eight shillings, which is called the currency of that province; in New-England it is reduced to six shillings, and then it is termed lawful money, to distinguish it from what is called Old Tenor, whereof seven-pence halfpenny is equal to one penny, or seven pounds ten shillings to one pound lawful money; but they usually keep their accounts in Old Tenor, as the Portuguese do theirs in Millreas. The currency of this province is five shillings to the dollar; consequently one pound sterling amounts to one pound, one shilling, and five-pence, one seventh, at par; yet the merchants here will not take a British shilling for more than twelve-pence, or a crown for more than a dollar; but the case is different when they want bills upon London; for then, at certain times, the pay-masters of regiments can make an advantageous bargain.* [1]

* I have known from five to ten *per cent.* sterling given for — London bills, though in general the course of exchange is seldom more than eight, and never less than five; by this one may form some judgment of the great profits merchants have here upon their commodities, when they can afford such large discount for their bills.—*Note by author.*

[1] At this time the official rating of the Spanish or American dollar in the Northern American colonies was six shillings, as determined by the proclamation of Queen Anne in 1704, which was still in force. This was the rating given to the dollar in the Province of Quebec in Murray's ordinance on the

We have now finished the lines in the front of our incampment, and it was this day ordered that seventy men *per* regiment shall intrench the flanks, and the remainder of the soldiers off duty are to be employed at the fort, for which they will be paid one shilling *per* man *per* day, and the non-commissioned Officers in proportion to their ranks; showery weather, with a thick fog, towards evening. 1757. September. 13th.

The Governor has received intelligence from Halifax, that Admiral Holborne's fleet were again sailed to Louisbourg, being reinforced with five ships of the line from England; the weather hazy and damp. 14th.

[48] Last night we were alarmed in our camp, by two shots fired on the swamps to the left of our ground; the guards and pickets turned out, and we stood to our arms until it was clear day-light in the morning; this was occasioned by some of our rangers, who took the advantage of a moon-light night to lie in waiting for wild ducks, which, with most other kinds of wild fowl, are in great plenty here, though not to be got at without risk; the weather to-day is clear, and comfortably warm. The reinforcements of Highlanders, mentioned before to have arrived lately at Halifax, consisted of two new-raised regiments; an unlucky accident lately happened to one of their private men, of which the following are the particulars; a soldier of another regiment, who was a centinel detached from an advanced guard, seeing a man coming out of the wood, with his hair hanging loose, and wrapped up in a dark-coloured plaid, he challenged him repeatedly, and receiving no 21st.

subject in 1764. In Massachusetts and Nova Scotia the dollar was rated at five shillings, which afterwards became the official rating of Halifax currency as finally adopted in Canada.

In New York, as stated by the author, the dollar passed current at eight shillings, a rating which was adopted in Canada from Montreal westward. The "York shilling" was thus twelve and one half cents.

The "Old Tenor" mentioned probably refers to the popular ratings in paper money, which, becoming very much depreciated from over-issue, was abolished by Imperial Act in 1850.—*Note by Professor Adam Shortt.* See note, vol. ii. p. 290.

1757. September. answer (the weather being hazy) he fired at him and killed him; the guard being alarmed, the Serjeant ran out to know the cause, and the unhappy centinel, strongly prepossessed that it was an Indian, with a blanket about him, who came skulking to take a prisoner, or a scalp, cried out, *I have killed an Indian, I have killed an Indian, there he lies, &c.*[1] but, upon being undeceived by the Serjeant, who went to take a view of the dead man, and being told he was one of our own men, and a Highlander, he was so oppressed with grief and fright, that he fell ill, and was despaired of for some days. In consequence of this accident, most of these young soldiers, being raw and unexperienced, and very few of them conversant in, or able to talk English (which was particularly his case who

[1] The British soldier dreaded the Indian, and not without cause. Sentinels at advanced posts were always exposed to the tomahawk or scalping-knife of the savages. These frequently approached in the guise of wild animals and surprised their victims. Later in the campaign the Canadians themselves adopted the garb and paint of the Indians, on certain occasions, to terrify their enemies. The Indians, on whichever side arrayed, were a source of endless trouble to the commanders. They were a power to be reckoned with, were difficult to restrain, and liable at a critical moment to transfer their allegiance to the enemy. "They drive us crazy," wrote Dieskau in 1755. "There is no end to their demands. They have already eaten five oxen and as many hogs, without counting the kegs of brandy they have drunk. In short, one needs the patience of an angel to get on with these devils, and yet one must always force himself to seem pleased with them." (Dieskau to Vaudreuil, September 1, 1755). When we shudder at their bloodthirstiness, we are inclined to forget that these expeditions to pillage and murder had been incited by Europeans, and that the tomahawk and the scalping-knife had been placed in their hands by the English and French. Intercourse with the savages in North America had rendered Europeans callous to their atrocities. "Not a week passes but the French send the English a band of hairdressers whom they would be very glad to dispense with. It is incredible what a number of scalps they bring us," wrote a young man to his father in 1756. (*Relation de M. Duchat*, quoted in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii. 66.)

In 1755 the French commander ordered "that the Indians were not to amuse themselves scalping until the enemy be entirely defeated, inasmuch as ten men can be killed whilst one is being scalped." (*New York Colonial Documents*, x. 331.) It seemed merely a question of time to the worthy Dieskau. Neither the English nor the French wanted the Indians as an enemy, and the side which could count them as allies was practically obliged to leave them to follow their own devices. See *Siege of Quebec*, ii. 203.

was killed) these regiments were ordered to do no more duty for some time; at length some of the inhabitants having crossed over to Dartmouth to cut fire-wood, they were attacked by a party of the enemy, and several were killed and scalped: whereupon a large detachment of these Highlanders were immediately sent to take post, and remain there; which will effectually secure the [49] town on that quarter, and inable the settlers to provide fuel during the approaching winter, without any farther apprehensions. Changeable weather for several days past, though mostly fair. 1757. September.

Two men of the 28th regiment deserted this morning, and took their course towards Baye Verde, where meeting with some of the enemy (savages as we are informed) one of them made his escape, and returned to the fort; in consideration whereof, and his good character, he was pardoned. A violent rain came on this afternoon, which obliged us to quit our work. 22d.

We have had constant heavy rain all last night and this day; our breast-works have suffered much thereby, our camp is almost knee-deep, and our trenches full of water; so that it was impossible for men to work to-day. A sloop arrived from Boston, with black cattle, sheep, and liquors; and nothing could be more seasonable at this time; by this vessel we have intelligence of great cruelties being committed by the Indians about Penobscot, who came down among the inhabitants under a mask of friendship; and such was their fury, that they spared neither sex nor age. 23d.

I never saw such storms of wind and rain as we have had for some days past, which have done more injury to the trenches, and made considerable breaches in the ramparts of the fort; the weather being fair to-day, with a seasonable drying wind, all the men off duty are employed in repairing those several damages in the garrison and lines. 27th.

Weather windy, showery, and very cold: some shots were fired last night on the marsh, to the left of our camp; on which a gun was discharged towards that place from the 28th.

1757. September. fort, and notice instantly sent to the camp to prevent an alarm.

29th. Dry, cold, windy weather: we finished our trenches to-day; the hours for work are changed; we begin at seven in the morning, and continue until noon; return at one o'clock, and do not quit until gun-firing in the evening.

30th. [50] The lines being completed, we are now employed in forming a glacis round the fort, repairing the ramparts, and adding some new works to the place; a casemate is also building in the garrison, for the safety of the troops in a siege.

October. 1st. Fine weather to-day, and warmer than it has been for some time past; this is the pleasantest season of the year, being neither intolerably hot nor cold; and we have got a release from the odious insects which have tormented us all this summer; besides, fogs are not so frequent and condense[1] now, as at other times. Though this prospect is pleasing at present, the people here do not seem to enjoy it as much as we do, who are new-comers; for they are sensible it will be of short duration, and probably succeeded by a rigorous winter.

3d. A nine-inch mortar was brought to camp this afternoon, and several shells were thrown towards the woods, in order to try at what distance we could annoy an enemy from our intrenchments, as likewise to discover whether it was necessary to clear any more ground on that side, within view of the fort.

N.B. There were no new measures taken in consequence of these experiments.

4th. Fine seasonable weather; we were obliged to dismiss our working parties this afternoon, at four o'clock, the troops being ordered under arms to man the trenches, agreeable to the following orders:

[1] Condense (Latin *condensus*), old form for dense: "Your breath is rendered condense by the frigidity of the air."—*New Oxford Dictionary.*

"The disposition of the troops in camp, at their alarm-posts, 1757. October.
"for the defence of the lines, *viz.*

"The 28th regiment.	Captns.	Subalts.	Rank and File.	The 43d regiment.	Captns.	Subalts.	Rank and File.
"Three faces . .	3	6	198	Three faces . .	3	6	198
"Two flanks . .	...	2	66	Two flanks . .	...	2	66
"One curtain . .	...	2	50	One curtain . .	...	2	53
"Two redans . .	2	2	96	Two redans . .	2	2	100
"Two intervals .	2	2	96	Two intervals . .	2	2	100

[51] "The reserve to consist of a Field officer, for which, "the 28th regiment to give one Captain, three Subalterns, and "seventy-four men; the 43d regiment one Captain; the "detachment in garrison one Captain, three Subalterns, and "226 rank and file; the reserve to be drawn up at the head of "the interval of the incampment of the two regiments. Lieu- "tenant-Colonel James,[1] of the 43d, to command the front of "the lines; Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh, of the 28th, the re- "serve; the Major of this last regiment to be on the right "flank, and the Major of the 43d on the left flank."

Total Captains 17, Subaltern Officers 34, rank and file 1323, exclusive of the troops who were at their several alarm-posts in the garrison. After the lines had been manned, the Governor walked round to take a view of his disposition, and then dismissed us.

These intrenchments, though as compact as they well could be, would require double our numbers to defend them; however, even with the troops at present here, the fort and its dependences are on a very respectable footing; the expedition against the enemy's settlements, in the vicinity of Chepordie[2] Hill, is no more talked of.

Fine clear weather to-day; in the afternoon two brass 5th.

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Demetrius James, of the 43rd Regiment, appointed February 2, 1757, was given the rank of colonel in America, in 1758.

[2] Shepody Hill.

1757. October. six pounders were drawn down to the outside of our trenches, to try how often they could be discharged in the space of one minute with deliberation, and in such manner as to do service; for this purpose they had a target erected, which was soon demolished; they were fired eleven, twelve, and thirteen times, in that short space, without any accident happening, and were well pointed.[1]

7th. I never saw the weather alter so suddenly as it has done this forenoon; about eleven o'clock it changed, from fair weather and seemingly settled, to tempestuous rain and hail, which lasted one hour, and continued showery for the remainder of the day. A Frenchman has appeared on horseback (with a white uniform, supposed to be Monsieur Bois Hibert) on the shore westward of our fort;[2] [52] the Success frigate rides within less than a quarter of a mile of that place, and this day gave him a gun, upon which he thought proper to disappear, and, at the same time, there was a great shout heard from the adjoining woods.

8th. We have at length finished all our works, and the late garrison, with the 43d regiment, are ordered to embark their baggage on this day, and on Monday (the 10th), and themselves on the day following: the 28th regiment, with a company of rangers, are to remain here this winter; a detachment of three hundred men from that corps, under their own Major, were ordered out this afternoon to scour the country as far as Baye Verde, to discover if any thing has happened in that quarter, since the last command had marched that way. Two of the number of oxen, stolen by the enemy last August, deserted their new masters, swam a-cross Tantamere river,[3] and

[1] There must be an error here. Even at the present day, with all the advantages of quick-firing breech-loading mechanism, absorption of gun recoil, cartridge charges, and smokeless powder, 6-pounder field-pieces do not much exceed this rate of firing. During the Seven Years' War, once a minute seems to have been rapid service.

[2] There seems to be no doubt about this, as Boishébert was in the vicinity at this date.

[3] Sackville.

once more put themselves under the protection of the British flag. There being now no farther attendance required from the Officers who had been appointed to inspect the King's works, they were this day paid off, with a polite compliment for their service. 1757. October.

The embarkation of the baggage is much favoured by the weather to-day, which is warmer than it has been for some time past. This forenoon the above command returned to the fort: on Sunday evening (the ninth) they got upon the tracks of men and horses before it was quite dark, and soon after came upon an abandoned camp*, with fires still burning; wherein they found a bottle of milk, a British pork barrel, some flour, a small leather bag of balls and buck-shot, also a firelock, which, by the marks, appeared to have formerly belonged to a man of the ranging company, who, with an Officer and twenty five men, were way-laid [53] and made prisoners some weeks before our arrival here; the night coming on a-pace, and the ground being advantageous, the Major occupied this camp, and immediately posted his centinels, giving all necessary orders on this occasion. About midnight a party of the enemy (as is surmised) returned to reconnoitre the disposition of the detachment, but, being nearer to one of the centinels than they had suspected, he, upon hearing a rustling noise in the bushes, gave an alarm, by discharging his piece as near, as he could form a judgement, to the place the noise proceeded from; this was instantly repeated by the rest of the centries round their post. The party immediately stood to their arms, and the men fired so furiously, some one way, and some another, that it was with difficulty their Officers could restrain them; whether any fire was returned on the part of the enemy is uncertain; there 10th.

* This must not be supposed to be a camp of canvas tents, but a parcel of sheds or huts thrown up irregularly, and called by the Indians Wigwahms:[1] they are made of small trees or branches fastened together, and covered close with the boughs of spruce.—*Note by author.*

[1] Wigwams.

1757. October. were no shouts nor yells heard, therefore it is concluded, if any were there, they were surprised, and stole off, seeing our party so numerous, and well situated; the detachment remained under arms until it was clear day-light, and the centries were doubled; the Officers continually visiting them. In this affair, very fortunately, there were none killed, though four men were slightly wounded (I presume by the impetuous firing of their own comrades;)—by the number of tents or wigwahms which the enemy left standing, and the pressure of many bodies upon the beds of spruce where they lay, with various other circumstances, it is conjectured that they were not a small party; but, being, as I said before, taken unawares, at the first appearance of so uncommonly large a detachment, they retired to some of their fastnesses, flattering themselves that they would be pursued (for these fellows will not fight without some apparent advantages;) they were, however, disappointed, for, as soon as it was light enough to march with precaution, the Commanding Officer, pursuant to his orders, directed his course by a different route, back to the camp.—This affair has been variously represented, and some circumstances have been [54] told that I think are not probable, therefore I omit any mention of them; however, what I have here related I have collected from my materials, and I believe it to be as near as possible to the state of the case. The enemy never fire a single ball, for they always load with six or seven smaller ones (which are called buck-shot) besides their usual musket-ball; and it is agreed by every body there was no such shot fired that night. That the enemy had been in, and occupied that camp, previous to the command's marching out, I give intire credit to: but, at the same time, I am inclined to think the centinel, who first fired, was rather alarmed with his own apprehensions, and perhaps a breeze, just at that instant, springing up, caused a rustling noise in the bushes, which increased, as the wind continued. Upon the whole, by all that I can learn from the

British inhabitants of Nova Scotia, and Officers, as well as rangers, who have lived long in this country (and to which I may now add my own subsequent experience) I am induced to believe, if there had been so small a number as twenty of the enemy, and our party even six hundred instead of three, they would actually have given a fire, raised their accustomed savage shout, and then fled :—for they are very enterprising and clever in those woods ; their hatred of the English is implacable, and their revenge beyond conception ; therefore, if one or two of those poor misguided wretches were there, when the first shot was fired, they came as spies, and must only have withdrawn themselves to their main body, as I have already observed, with the hopes of decoying the detachment to a post more suitable to their own humour and manner of fighting ; for there is no other consideration could have prevailed on them, at that time, to desert their camp, and the present opportunity. 1757. October.

Fair weather to-day ; the Success frigate sailed on the eighth instant for Annapolis Royal ; and this morning arrived his Majesty's sloop Vulture[1] to take charge of the transports. By an after order, the old garrison are to remain some time longer, and the 28th re- [55] giment is to keep the field until it shall be thought proper to embark the others ; their principal delay at present is to complete the magazine of coals for the use of this fortress. 11th.

The 43d regiment embarked to-day, after a great deal of trouble, and many delays on the part of the Masters of transports, who were very tardy in sending their boats for them, insomuch that the regiment was obliged to march and countermarch the marshes, to keep the men in motion until the evening ; for they were above ancle-deep in mud and water, besides being exposed to the inclemency of very tempestuous weather. I cannot take leave of fort Cumberland, without giving a particular description of it, and its situation.—Most 12th.

[1] Commander John Scaife.

1757. October. historians, and other writers, advance Beau Bassin and Beau Sejour to be at the bottom of the bay of Fundy ;[1] but I must in this differ from them ; for it is to me incontestable, that the source of a bay, or river, is the head of it. This bay is neither formed nor fed solely by the sea, but by innumerable tributary rivers and streams, which disgorge themselves into the bason and other parts of it, and run with a majestic course down to the ocean, forming a current from four to seven or eight miles in an hour : and, when the tide is at its lowest ebb, the water is as fresh and fit for use, as any other water whatsoever ; in like manner is the river St. Lawrence, and sure no man will insist, that the gulf or entrance of that river is the head of it, or that Quebec, Montreal, *&c.* are at the bottom of it : this being to me a clear case, I must advance that Beau Sejour, now fort Cumberland, is erected at the head, and not at the bottom of the bay of Fundy ; (perhaps I may be thought singular in this opinion, but I cannot prevail upon myself to depart from my own sentiments, and to adopt a system, though generally received, so repugnant to reason.) The fort, which is a pentagon, is delightfully situated on an eminence, that commands an agreeable and extensive prospect : it was erected here by the French, after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle ; and was taken by Lieutenant-Colonel, now General Moncton, in [56] the year 1755, since which time it has undergone some alterations and additions, and yet it is nevertheless a miserable fortress ; the ramparts are raised with turf, earth, and fascines, which every year require some repairs ; so that, at best, it can only be said to resemble a patch of new cloth on an old threadbare garment. The bastions are

[1] The Bay of Fundy, formerly known as La Baie Française.

The author's discussion of this expression is trivial. The French call the back part of anything looked at from the front, the *fond*. Considering a bay in this way, the back or furthest part of it is the *fond*, which in English has been rendered bottom. The fault, if fault there has been, was in choosing such a rendering for the word *fond*. In theatrical scenes, what the French call *le fond* we call the back of the scene.

made of square timbers, and round the scarp, below the parapet, is a frize, or row of pointed pickets, laid horizontally. Before our arrival here, there were some hollows round the foot of the rampart, resembling a fosse, or ditch, which we have now made regular by the addition of an excellent glacis, whose counterscarp is revested with palisadoes, with their points rising about two feet above the head of this esplanade. There is only one gate, with a draw-bridge and sally-port to the fort; and on the curtain, that looks to the blockhouse (before described) and adjacent country leading to Gaspereau [1] and Baye Verde, is a long battery *en barbet;* but such is the weakness and insignificancy of this rampart, that its own guns, if discharged for two or three hours successively, as in a siege, would tumble into the ditch, and lay all open for the enemy to march in. The artillery mounted here are six nine and twelve pounders, with a few nine-inch mortars, and some cohorns; a good deal of ground has been lately taken in to inlarge this fortress, surrounded only by stout pallisadoes, with loop-holes for musketry, and the glacis is extended round the outside of them: this addition, which is called the spur, is a tolerable barrier, against an Indian enemy, to the fort; and, within that, are constructed good barracs for the better quartering of the troops, with several store-houses, work-shops, *&c.* The fort of itself is small and confined, and the caserns, which were built there for the accommodation of the garrison, by no means do honour to its former masters, with respect to architecture. On the east side of fort Cumberland stand the ruins of fort Lawrence,[2] close by the river Masagnash,[3] which was destroyed upon our taking possession of Beau Sejour: [57] the country is fenny on that side, as it is likewise for three parts round the garrison, and is generally overflowed by various small rivers that intersect those marshes; 1757. October.

[1] Fort Gaspereau, built in 1751.
[2] This fort was built by Charles Lawrence in September 1750.
[3] Mesagouèche, now known as Messagouash.

1757. October. yet the French were at much pains to reclaim them by drains and dykes, so that, if ever this province should be settled in right earnest, and secured from insults or apprehensions, and the new inhabitants should take the hint from their predecessors, these swamps may be rendered as profitable and beautiful vales as are to be met with in any other country ;[1] for they are very extensive, surrounded by hills covered with woods and by water, and consequently would, with the assistance of industry, become not only fertile and advantageous to the proprietors, but also form as agreeable a landscape as imagination can conceive. The enemy had a chain of forts between this and Baye Verde, the principal whereof was at Gaspereau ; and they had a little town here, with a church and a decent chapel of boards and timber, with a parcel of small villages between this and the before-mentioned bay : all which they burned and destroyed, to prevent their being useful to us ; so that, at present, there is no town, saving a row of indifferent brick houses *, between twenty and thirty in number ; occupied by industrious people, formerly Serjeants and soldiers, who, having been licensed to suttle, have acquired small fortunes sufficient to inable them to become merchants and dealers, and are consequently rendered useful, in supplying the troops with all manner of European cloathing, furniture, haberdashery wares, liquors, provisions, *&c.* which they import from Boston, New-York, and sometimes by the way of Halifax directly from England. There are likewise a set of mean wooden huts here, inhabited by artificers and such of the married soldiers, whose families are not permitted to lie in the fort ; these, with the others before-mentioned make up the sum total of the Beau Monde [58] in this remote corner of the new world. I cannot dismiss this subject without relating, that, when the French were in possession of this

[1] This prediction has been fulfilled. (*Professor Ganong.*)

* There is to be found in different parts of this province excellent clay, of which the French made bricks, tiles, earthen ware, *&c.—Note by author.*

garrison, they had no artillery; however, being remarkably fruitful of invention, they were not at a loss to deceive their enemies at fort Lawrence; for they provided a parcel of birch, and other, hard, well grown trees, which they shaped and bored after the fashion of cannon, securing them from end to end with cordage; and from one of these they constantly fired a morning and evening gun (as is customary in garrisons) but, upon the reduction of this place, and a spirited inquiry after the cannon, they found themselves obliged to discover their ingenious device.[1] 1757. October.

The 43d regiment being embarked, *viz.* six companies for Annapolis Royal, on board the True Briton and Neptune transports; and the other four under the Major, in the Richard and Mary, with the Brotherhood, for fort Edward; we this evening received our sailing orders as follows: 13th.

"By Captain John Scaife, Commander of his Majesty's "sloop Vulture.

"You are hereby required and directed, so soon as the "troops you are ordered to receive on board the Neptune "transport, whereof you are Master, are all embarked, to "proceed with them to Annapolis Royal, without loss of time, "for which this shall be your orders. Dated on board his "Majesty's ship Vulture, at Joggen,[2] in Checnecto river, the "13th of October, 1757.

"(*N.B.* The like order to each of the other transports)

"JOHN SCAIFE.

"To Mr. John Biggs, Master of the Neptune transport."

[1] Seven months before the taking of Fort Beauséjour by Monckton, Vergor de Chambon, commandant of the fort, wrote as follows: "The garrison consists of one hundred and twenty men of Quebec and Louisbourg troops, the artillery of twenty-one guns of different calibre and of one mortar. The garrison is not strong enough to defend the fort in case of an attack or siege; three hundred men at least would be needed."—Vergor to Minister, Beauséjour, November 14, 1754 (*Canadian Archives*, F. 123–A, p. 166).

[2] Windsor.

1757. October. Upon receipt of these orders the squadron unmoored, to be ready to sail with the next tide of ebb.

14th. Mild moderate weather with a fair wind; about two o'clock this morning we got under way, with the advantages of wind and tide, [59] which rendered it pleasant sailing; between eight and nine, made the opening or entrance of Annapolis river, which is about half a mile over; the current here is very strong. Upon the entering of the headmost ship several signal shots were fired, in the woods on the larboard-side, by the enemy who are watching our motions, and reconnoitring our force; about ten we came to an anchor, in a spacious fine bason, off Bear Island;[1] here we met the Enterprise man of war of forty guns, stationed in this river for the safety of the fort, at the distance of twelve or thirteen miles. This bason at the broadest part is about four miles over, but it is not uniformly so; for in other places it is not above a mile as you approach Goat Island,[2] and then the river narrows to the fort, to the breadth of about twelve hundred yards; and shrinks from that upwards, to half a mile. On each side we see the ruins of habitations, and extensive orchards well planted with apple and pear trees, bending under their weight of fruit; beyond these are dark, thick woods, and high mountains all round.

15th. Fair weather to-day; the garrison not being quite ready to receive us, we remained at anchor until this morning; weighed between nine and ten, and worked up to the quay in less than four hours; we found the Success at anchor in the road.

17th. We landed our baggage yesterday, and to-day the six companies disembarked and marched into quarters, where there are tolerable barracs both for Officers and private men.

[1] In the map of 1609, this is called Ile Claudiane.

[2] This island was called Biencourville. It was opposite the place on the north shore where De Monts and Poutrincourt built a fort in 1605, which is known as Scots Fort.

The principal orders, which the Commanding Officers of the forts and garrisons in this province have received from the Governor, are, "That, in case either should be attacked, they "are reciprocally to reinforce and assist each other." How this can be complied with, I own I am at a loss to conceive; for there are no roads through the province, which is in general one continued rude wilderness, abounding with innumerable rivers and impassable swamps; and these garrisons are an incredible distance from each other; the only communication then must be by water, which for some months of the year is bound [60] up with frost; but, if that was not the case, we have neither sloop, schooner, galley, or barge, on this river, whereby we might even transmit an express upon any pressing occasion; there are two or three old crazy canoes on the shore, of little or no use; nor are there any vessels stationed at any of those forts, except a province sloop and schooner, one of which is, for a few months of the summer season, at fort Cumberland, who makes two or three trips back and forward to Chebucto, and, for form's sake, looks into the bason of this harbour; but her principal station, and the schooners, are at Halifax, whence they serve as runners to Boston, or elsewhere, for intelligence, or on any emergency. 1757. October.

The Commanding Officers of the different forts are invested with the authority of Chief Magistrate, or Justice of Peace, in their respective districts, which, in the present situation of affairs in this (I may say) uninhabited province, is only a matter of form. Upon our taking possession of this garrison, our Commandant issued out the following orders:

"It is Lieutenant Colonel Demetrius James's orders, that "the morning gun shall fire at break of day; the evening gun "at sun-set; and the second gun at eight o'clock at night; the "ports to be shut, and the bridge to be drawn up, at sun-set;

1757. October. "the wicket and outward barrier to be shut at nine o'clock at "night, and not to be opened till reveillé-beating. One "Subaltern Officer, one Serjeant, two Corporals, one Gunner, "and thirty men to mount the main guard. One Serjeant, "one Corporal, one Gunner, and twelve men to mount the "Cape blockhouse guard.[1] The like guard also at Hog Island "blockhouse; and a Corporal and two men to mount at "the fort Major's blockhouse. All the guards to mount at "ten o'clock in the morning, except the fort Major's, which "is to mount at retreat-beating, and come off at reveillé: "all the out-guards to report in writing every-morning at "eight o'clock, to the Officer of the main or port guard. The "main [61] guard is to furnish eight centries, *viz.* one upon "the Commanding Officer, one at each of the four Bastions, "one at the Wicket, one at the Provost's, one at the Guard-"room door, and two orderly men; the centries are to be "relieved every hour; the Officer of the main guard is to "go his rounds twice, between twelve o'clock at night and "reveillé-beating. A Corporal of the main guard, with two "men, to patrole round the rampart, from the second gun-fire "at night, till break of day in the morning, half an hour "after every relief. The centries are to pass the words "frequently—*All's well*, beginning at King George's Bastion, "and to end with the centinel at the Wicket.[2] The troop "to beat at nine o'clock every morning, and tattoo at the "second gun-firing. The two blockhouse are to mount two "centries each, who are to be posted up stairs together. A "Corporal and four men from the Cape blockhouse, to patrole "from thence every two hours, quite round the covered way. "A Corporal and four men from Hog Island[3] blockhouse to

[1] See plan of Annapolis River.

[2] King George's Bastion: the Bastion du Roy, which no doubt was afterwards named King George Bastion, was on the south-east angle of the fort.

[3] Hog Island, situated on the north-east of Fort Annapolis, known under the French régime as Ile-aux-Cochons (Hog Island), and now connected with

"patrol from thence every two hours up through the town, "and return through the lane close to the Governor's garden; "these patroles are to take up all soldiers they shall meet "with, as well as disorderly and suspected persons. The "Gunner of the main guard to be very punctual, in report- "ing all vessels to the Commanding Officer, as soon as they "appear. No person upon any pretence to presume to suttle "or sell any sort of liquor in the fort. No fire to be carried "openly from one barrac to another; and no person to carry "a lighted pipe about the fort." 1757. October.

The old garrison embarked to-day for Halifax, and with them two Indian captives, a brother and sister, who passed by the names of Clare and Anselm Thomas; they are of the Mic-mac nation; she is comely and not disagreeable; her complexion was not so fair as the British, nor yet so dark as the French in general are; her features were large, with sprightly black eyes, hair of the same [62] colour, thin lips and a well-shaped nose; I believe she may be about twenty-three or four years of age, not taller than five feet five inches; somewhat Dutch-built, but was very sprightly, and had much of the French in her manner and behaviour; she was as different from a great masculine Squaw at fort Cumberland, as any two creatures of the same species can be. This last female I would have given some account of before, but, tho' I saw her often, I asked no questions about her, as she appeared to me to be, and what I naturally concluded she

the mainland. This peninsula of half a mile in width by five furlongs in length was granted about 1646 by D'Aulnay to Jacques Bourgeois. About fifty years later, the brook which formed the island being dyked at both ends, a peninsula replaced the island. De Brouillan, on his arrival in 1701, succeeded in appropriating the island for himself. On July 9, 1794, Hog Island, now called "Bay View," was granted to Robert Dickson, David Bonnett, and John Burkett, in trust for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of Annapolis. This place was used after the Treaty of Utrecht as the scene of public executions until the law required the death sentence to be carried out within the precincts of the prison.

1757. October. was, a Mulatto. Their family have been converted to (what is commonly called) Christianity, as may partly appear by their names; but I have a stronger reason for this suggestion, by their having crucifixes; Clare had one of silver, that hung down from a large bunch of beads, which she wore about her neck; Anselm's was made of wood, and hung by a leathern string from a button-hole of his coat; their cloathing they got from the Officers of the garrison, except a turban the female had on her head, and a pair of paltry pendants from her ears: these, I am told, were her own. When I first went into the room where they were confined, the sister rose up from her seat, approached me eagerly, and saluted me after the French manner. The brother, who was neither so fair nor so tall, came towards me in a fearful skulking manner, grasped one of my hands, and shook it with great emotion, accompanied with an unintelligible jargon: he was a mean-looking fellow, not so sprightly as the other; yet he was well proportioned, and seemed to be active, but he had not the engaging openness of countenance of Clare, nor could I discern the smallest resemblance between them. These Indians were not very talkative; I spoke to them in French, and they answered me, but what they said was so low and thick, that I could not understand them; I am told their language was a mixture of their own mother-tongue and of French; in a second visit, which my curiosity led me to make them, Clare made a sign to me for pen, ink, and [63]r paper; these I accordingly procured for her, and she instantly filled one side of it with a writing, or characters, which are to me unintelligible;[1] I have it now before me, and, though there are some letters in it apparently similar to part of our alphabet, yet it is utterly impossible to make any discovery from it. Some months

[1] Possibly the Micmac hieroglyphics, invented by Father Le Clercq. See *New Relation of Gaspesia by Father Chrestien Le Clercq*, translated and edited by William F. Ganong (Champlain Society, 1910): Introduction, pp. 21–32.

ago this man and woman, with two other brothers, came to Mayass Hill,[1] within a mile of the garrison, under a flag of truce: an Officer with an interpreter were immediately sent out, to inquire their errand, and to invite them in, which they accordingly accepted of. They said—"they belonged to a "settlement at Pan-nook,[2] in the country of Lunenburg (which "lies to the eastward of us, about three or four and twenty "leagues) and that they were sent by their father to treat in "behalf of their family and the rest of their tribe; that they "were desirous of burying the hatchet, and becoming true "friends to the English, with whom they now hoped to put "a final period to all animosities; and, if we did not chuse to "trust and employ them as allies, prayed that they may be "reputed and treated hereafter at least as neutrals." So eager were they to be confided in, that Anselm and Clare voluntarily proposed to continue here as hostages, while the other brothers should go to Pan-nook, for their father and one or two other Chiefs of their nation, the better to convince the English of their sincerity. Having got a favourable answer and reception, the two brothers accordingly departed from the fort with some trifling presents, and directed their course towards Lunenburg,[3] in order to procure, through the channel of some acquaintances they had there, a British escort to conduct them, either back to this garrison, or to Halifax: in their journey they called at Pan-nook, and, upon their favourable report to

1757. October.

[1] Mayass Hill. This place is named after Jacques Doucet, surnamed Maillard, son of Germain Doucet and Marie Landry, who was born at Port Royal in 1671. Doucet settled at the foot of a hill on the east of Allen's River, and this hill became known as Maillard's Hill. The author appears to have converted this into Mayass. The place is now known as Gates Hill.

[2] Lake Pannook, now called Penhook, is situated in Windsor Township, Nova Scotia. It is the source of the Saint Croix River, and is about eight miles north of Margaret's Bay. Pannook in the Micmac language means the first lake met on the way up the river.

[3] Fort Lunenburg, situated upon a neck of land which forms a peninsula between Mirleguéche Bay and a branch of Mahone Bay, is about forty-eight miles from Halifax by water.

1757. October. their father, he, and two other Chiefs, accompanied them towards the German settlement before-mentioned; but unluckily, in their march thither, they were way-laid by an accidental party of our people, who [64] knew nothing about them, nor the errand they were going upon; in this affair the father of Anselm fell; the rest betook themselves to flight, and the party not pursuing immediately, as they did not yet know the number of the Indians, gave the old Chief time to recollect himself and escape also.* This had such an effect on the Sachems and their companions, who concluded it to be the result of treachery, that they thought it in vain to renew their sollicitations, and (no doubt vowed revenge at a proper season) persuaded that the English were a faithless people; they resolved to return to their habitations, and remain quiet, until they should hear the fate of Clare and Anselm; these circumstances being yet unknown to the Commanding Officer here, except an imperfect account brought, within this fortnight, by a sloop from fort Edward in this province, *viz.* that a scouting party of the enemy had been way-laid near Lunenburg; that one old man was killed (this was supposed to be the father of these captives) whom the rest carried off before our people could venture upon a pursuit, *&c.* and, the two brothers not returning pursuant to their promise, it was concluded they must have been the suspected enemy, and therefore it was resolved that Anselm and Clare should be detained, and brought to Halifax, there to be disposed of as the Governor should think proper: as I was very particular in my description of these savages, I thought it necessary to account for the manner in which they fell into our hands. The detachment we relieved here was commanded by a

* It is customary with the Indians, upon the earliest glimpse of a flash from an enemy's fire, to fall flat to the ground, as if killed; and, after they have heard the report, they spring up briskly, and return the salute, followed by a shout, and then run off; but, by what I can learn, these people had no arms, or, if they had, being surprised, and few in number, they thought it better to retire.—*Note by author.*

Captain, and consisted of eighty effective men, besides Artillery-men, to the number of ten, including their Officer, who is a Lieutenant. They made a very shabby appearance (I [65] mean the infantry) and did not trouble themselves much about discipline, nor were they regularly cloathed; their Officers seemed to be a good deal ashamed; but I think great allowances should be made for troops, situated as they were, who were worn out with hard labour and watching, and who rather looked upon themselves in the light of slaves, or, at best of rangers, doomed to perpetual banishment. The regiments stationed in Nova Scotia have suffered much in all respects, by their long confinement in this province, and their being subdivided (the very bane of discipline to a corps) into small detachments to garrison so many different places; but, at length, by the arrival of an army this year at Halifax, the appearance, as well as regularity, of these European troops, and the out-parties, from the other regiments, being relieved, and called in, raised an emulation among them immediately, upon their junction: they gradually improved, soon discarded the ranging party coloured cloathing, and re-assumed the air and spirit of expert regular forces. There is nothing can be more prejudicial to his Majesty's service, and it can be no advantage to the mother-country, in many respects, to suffer troops, or people in public employments, civil or military, to reside long in any of those remote garrisons or countries; I could point out some judicious reasons in support of these sentiments, but it is no longer requisite; they are, or seem to be, at this time (*Anno* 1768) obvious to the ruling powers, and wiser measures are now adopted.* I must, however, intreat the reader's patience to attend to what I am going to relate, 1757. October.

* Some exceptions, it is true, may be made to this system, because there are countries subject to Great Britain, whose inhospitable climates are fatal, not only to Europeans, but to British constitutions in particular; therefore it may be impolitic to relieve seasoned veterans too often: in such cases, however, there is no doubt, that *the greatest evil ought always to be eschewed.*—*Note by author.*

1757. October. as it is not altogether foreign to the subject, and, I have been frequently assured, is matter of fact. There is an old French [66] gentlewoman[1] here, of the Romish persuasion, whose daughters, grand-daughters, and other relations, have, from time to time, intermarried with Officers, and other gentlemen of this garrison, whereof some of the former's were of respectable rank; the ladies soon acquired an influence, the spirit of the soldier and the characteristic of a good Officer were gradually changed, and succeeded by rusticity; the women, in short, did as they pleased, provided they would indulge their good-natured husbands in a pipe, and a chear-uping glass[2] extraordinary, in the evenings. The private men, whether on

[1] This gentlewoman was Marie Magdalen Maisonat, a French lady of the Catholic faith. She was the daughter of Pierre Maisonat and Madeleine Bourq. Maisonat was more commonly known as Captain Baptiste. He was reputed to be the most dangerous privateer of the time, and had inflicted heavy losses on the British-American trade by capturing numbers of richly laden vessels. Marie Magdalen Maisonat was married to William Winniett in 1711. Winniett was born in France of Huguenot parents. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he went to London. In 1710 he joined the expedition of Nicholson against Port Royal, and the next year he married and settled down to a commercial life, and soon became the leading merchant and vessel owner in the province. He was for several years a member of the Council at Annapolis, and died in 1741, leaving a considerable fortune to his wife and children.

The eldest daughter of Madam Winniett married Captain Crosby of the 40th Regiment, who became Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis in 1727, and commander-in-chief at Canso. Her second daughter married Lieutenant Handfield of the 40th Regiment, who became a member of the Council, and afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment. The third daughter married Edward How, who later filled the office of High Sheriff, was a member of the Council, and a captain in the militia. The eldest daughter of How was in turn married to an officer of the 40th Regiment, whilst two of the sons of Winniett were in the military service.

It is quite possible that Madam Winniett, as related by the author, attended councils of war and gave orders, for the lieutenant-governor and commander of the garrison was her son-in-law, she herself was the wife of a member of the Council who had great influence in the community, and her children were married to officers. Who would have dared to question the authority of an old lady boasting of such powerful official connections? Moreover, the councils were publicly held at the commandant's house, where she would feel quite at home.

[2] "Chirping-glass": see Errata.

guard, or employed, at the government's expence, in patching the decayed works of the fort, have been sent for to dig up gardens, or do some other business, for the inhabitants of the town, and, after earning an extra shilling, repaired to a public-house to drown the cares of the day in the seasons of good fellowship, regardless of their duty, or the work they had, perhaps, been engaged at in the morning: if an Officer ventured to call one of these delinquents to an account, the answer was, "I was sent for to finish a jobb of work for "Madam —— ;" and, if the soldier was confined, the old gentlewoman ordered him to be released by her own authority, which was deemed sufficient, and no farther inquiries must be made into the matter. I am also assured that this good lady has actually presided at councils of war in the fort, when measures have been concerting to distress the common enemy, her good kindred and countrymen. The simple relation of these matters now a-days, appears very extraordinary: but, I believe, I may venture to assert, that they are no less to be relied on. I called at this gentlewoman's house one morning soon after we had been settled, and, seeing a young man in blue cloaths, with a soldier's hat and lace on his head, I supposed he was an Officer's servant, and therefore directed my eyes towards him and his hat, to try if he would take the hint; but the poor lad, though in soldier's pay, was an idiot: his father had formerly been an Officer of rank in [67] much esteem here, and was married to one of her daughters; she, seeming highly offended at my viewing her grandson so stedfastly, said, "I might look at him, but she could assure "me he was a ——'s son, as good as myself, &c. &c." I unfortunately replied, that I supposed he was the son of a French militia ——, or words to that effect. I cannot describe her wrath at this answer; she could no longer contain herself, and, after venting a great many choleric expressions, she concluded with this speech, *Me have rendered King Shorge more important services dan ever you did, or peut être ever shall; and* 1757. October.

1757. October. *dis be well known to peoples en authorité.* To which an Officer, who accompanied me, answered, *Very true, Madam; I suppose it was in council.*—He was going to add something more, but the lady grew so outrageous, that we found it was time to decamp. All measures, however, in consequence of these connections, have been long since changed by deaths and removals; I shall therefore proceed to a description of this famous fortress, which has had the honour of being, if not under the jurisdiction, at least the influence, of this sage and able female counsellor: "Annapolis Royal is of a quadrangular form, and stands on an artificial height, which, with the ramparts, are raised by loose sandy earth, faced with timbers; it is situated close to a pleasant river, which takes its name from the garrison, and lies S. E. of the entrance, leading from the bay of Fundy, at the distance of somewhat better than four leagues. It has four bastions or batteries, one at each angle; it has one gate, a draw-bridge, and two barriers, with a fosse, a covered way, and a good glacis; the curtains, to the East, West, and South, are flanked by ravelins, or half-moons; and to the North, by the river; with the town running eastward along the shore, which is protected, at the upper extremity, by a blockhouse, built on a peninsula, called Hog Island; and on the S. S. W. stands another, leading to the country, to prevent any surprise on that quarter. Under the north curtain, [68] on the level of the covered way, is a Barbet battery faced with brick, and well situated; it mounts six twenty-four pounders pointed down the river, and a thirteen-inch mortar; behind this battery, in the ditch, stands the powder magazine, whose communication with the garrison is by the sally-port. The fosse, or ditch, which is dry, is very broad and of a proper depth, in the center whereof, between the scarp and counterscarp, stands a wall of palisadoes, ranged close together. The garrison mounts about thirty pieces of cannon, mostly twelve and nine pounders, with some smaller ones, and several mortars of different calibers; but the works

ANNAPOLIS ROYAL

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are in a ruinous condition, there are no communications between the body of the place and the ravelins: these last seem to be entirely neglected; and the timbers that face the scarp of the ramparts are so decayed, that they, as well as the sandy foundation, are gradually mouldering away. The works were formerly much more extensive, but it was found necessary to demolish some, in order to render it more compact, for the small force which could only be spared to garrison and defend it. Within the fort, besides the barracs, some of which are much out of repair, are arsenals, store-houses, work-shops, an armoury, and a new building, not near finished, which is intended for a casemate, to contain 300 men. I dare say a draught of this place, thrown into perspective, would appear very respectable, but I am sorry I cannot say it is so in reality. A stranger would naturally expect, on coming here, to see a complete fortress and a better town,—if he considers that Annapolis Royal has been in the possession of the British crown, since the year 1714,[1] when it was ceded to us by the treaty of Utrecht.* The houses of the village (for it does not deserve the name of a town) are mean, and in general built of wood; and, though it is much inferior to Halifax, the inducements to settle here, with [69] respect to the country about it, are infinitely greater; there is a good deal of clear ground here, within view of the fort, which, however, at present lies disregarded, as it can neither be cultivated, nor even converted into pasturage, in safety: on the opposite side of the river, and on the S. E. S. and S. W. quarters the lands are high, and covered with dark thick woods; but on the West side of the fort, beyond a small rivulet, called Allen's River, are the ruins of settlements and regular planted orchards:——Thus far at present.

1757. October.

[1] The Treaty of Utrecht was signed on March 31 (O.S.), or April 11 (N.S.), 1713.

* Annapolis was in our possession before that time; we took it from the French, and they confirmed it to us by that famous treaty.—*Note by author.*

1757. October. 18th. Our new garrison consists of the six companies of the 43d regiment, amounting to about four hundred and fifty men, all ranks included; a Fort-Major, a Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery, a Bombardier, two Gunners, and ten Matrosses. There is also an Engineer here, who with the Artillery Officer (generally a Lieutenant Fire-worker) a Clerk of the Cheque, and a Store-keeper, form a board or committee, and constitute the civil branch of this garrison: they derive their authority from the respectable Board of Ordnance at home; and under their inspection are the works, barracs, arsenals, stores of various kinds, armoury, and the superintendence, as well as payment, of all the artificers, and others employed in the King's works, in like manner as in all his Majesty's other forts and garrisons: besides these Gentlemen before-mentioned, there are about fifty men fit to bear arms, composed of inhabitants, and a few artificers who are in constant pay.

We have had the most incessant fall of rain these two days that ever I saw; I observe, when it sets in to be wet, it is much more violent, while it continues, than in Europe, where the climates are less upon extremes.

19th. The old garrison sailed early this morning for Halifax, under convoy of the Enterprise. Fair weather to-day, and very cold: a detachment of one Captain, two Subalterns, and 126 rank and file, with Serjeants and Drummers in proportion, are ordered to be in [70] readiness to embark in sloops hired for that purpose, to proceed down the river to a place called Fort Faggot,[1] to cut fire-wood for the garrison: the men are not to be relieved until they have done cutting, but the Officers will be relieved every week; the men are to be paid at the rate of two shillings *per* cord, and to be allowed rum every day at his Majesty's expence. Hitherto, when the troops in garrison were few in number, they were supplied with this article[2] from Boston, and other parts of New England, at the

[1] Fort Faggot, a small place on the Annapolis River near Bear River.

[2] From the context it is evident that the article referred to is "wood." As the sentence reads, however, it refers to "rum."

rate of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen shillings currency (of this province) *per* cord, which was brought here by sloops and schooners ; this circumstance would scarce gain credit in Europe, when people are told at the same time, that the forts and garrisons, in this province, are surrounded by forests of all kinds of excellent wood, fit for fuel : but then it also remains to be told, that, though we are said to be in possession of Nova Scotia,[1] yet it is in reality of a few fortresses only, the French and Indians disputing the country with us on every occasion, inch by inch, even within the range of our artillery ; so that, as I have observed before, when the troops are not numerous, and cannot venture in safety beyond their walls, the necessity of importing fire-wood from other places appears obvious. 1757. October.

For these two days, cold, disagreeable weather, with heavy showers : the Officer of the guard having demanded candles for his own and his men's use, it was a matter of great surprise to the Fort-Major, who declared, that, in the many years he had been in office here, there never was a candle asked for before, for that the Officer of the guard usually passed his time, when on duty, in his own quarters, or elsewhere in the fort ; and that, moreover, there was no fund to supply that contingent ; but the Commanding Officer convinced the Fort-Major (who was a reasonable, genteel man) of the necessity of candles upon guard, and assured him he should expect the duty of this garrison to be executed very differently, [71] in future, from what (by his account) it had usually been. Accordingly three candles *, of about twenty to the pound, were produced, which were insufficient ; but, upon complaint being made, proper lights, and more of them, were soon after granted (as is customary 21st.

[1] Although Nova Scotia was ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the British did not maintain a sufficient force in the country to uphold their rights, and at this time they were in possession of a few forts only.

* The price of this article, here, was from eight-pence to ten-pence *per* pound.—*Note by author.*

1757. October. in all other countries) as well to the main guard as the block-houses.

22d. Dry, cold, and windy weather: the detachment embarked for fort Faggot this day; the men were provided with thirty-six rounds each, and a cask full of spare ammunition; this being the anniversary of his Majesty's coronation, the colours were hoisted at break of day; at noon twenty-one guns were discharged, and the garrison marched out to the glacis,—and fired three vollies.

23d. The weather to-day is very cold, with showers of sleet or small snow; at nine o'clock this morning his Excellency Governor Lawrence arrived from fort Cumberland, with the troops from thence, on their way to Halifax. On his landing he was saluted with fifteen guns. The 28th regiment had not removed into quarters, when this fleet sailed from the bason. The Governor met with squally weather, and was in some danger of being lost on a lee shore, where he says he saw a number of canoes, and the smoke of fires in the woods at a small distance, which he supposed were Bois Hibert, and his Gens de Bois, on their return from Louisbourg.

24th. The Charming Molly schooner is just arrived from Piscataway,[1] with liquors and provisions; by this vessel we have received the following disagreeable news of the fleet under Admiral Holborne; *viz.* on the evening of the 24th ult. being off Cape Breton, it began to blow hard at East, but, veering round to the southward, it blew a perfect storm, which continued violent all that night, and the greatest part of the forenoon following, in which time his fleet sustained great damage, as by the following returns:

[72] "The Newark, drove into Halifax, threw eight guns "over-board.

[1] Piscataway is the name of a river, and of a village situated thereon, in Prince George County, Maryland, about fourteen miles south of Washington, but it is probable that what is meant here is the Piscataqua, the river which forms the boundary between the present states of Maine and New Hampshire.

"The Invincible lost all her masts. 1757. October.

"The Sunderland lost her main and mizen masts.

"The Captain and Eagle lost all their masts.

"The Centurion and Frederic the same.

"The Tilbury—lost.[1] About 175 souls out of 400 were "all that could be saved; they were drove ashore on the "island, and the French took them up, and sent them soon "after, under a flag of truce, to Halifax.

"The Nottingham lost her mizen masts.

"The Devonshire was since seen at sea without her "masts.

"The Nassau and Grafton the same.

"The Windsor threw fifteen guns over-board.

"The Ferret sloop is missing; it is feared she is lost.

"The Cruiser sloop lost her moving mizen mast and all "her guns."

The Governor and his squadron sailed this day for Halifax, with a fair wind, under convoy of the Success frigate, who waited here for them; we discovered this night a large fire in the woods about two leagues up the river, on the North side; this piece of insolence, we are told, is one of the baits laid by the enemy, in order to decoy a party to go in pursuit of them. 25th.

Soft open weather these two days, yet gloomy and very cold. Some horses, which the enemy stole from the inhabitants of this place last summer, appeared, this afternoon, on Mayass Hill, near two miles from hence; (this eminence is the utmost limit of our clear, open ground, South of the 27th.

[1] The *Tilbury* was wrecked at or near the island of Saint Esprit, about eight leagues to the S.E. of Louisbourg. Lord Colville reports that it was "a most violent storm, which lasted 12 Hours, dismasting most of the Ships, and putting the whole Fleet in imminent danger of being cast away" (*Journal*).

Amongst the crew of the ill-fated vessel was John Tane, the first lieutenant. He was picked up by the French, but they refused to return him, as he appeared to be talented and well acquainted with Isle Royale.—*Ile Royale: Orders of the King*, 1758 (*Canadian Archives*, Series B, 107).

1757. October. fort ;) two or three Officers, with a Serjeant and twelve men, went out to intercept their retreat to the woods ; but they were so shy and wild, that the party found it impracticable ; so they returned without them.

28th. [73] Fair weather with a very sharp air : another party of volunteers, consisting of Officers and soldiers, seeing the horses before-mentioned return to the hill, went out in the afternoon, divided themselves, and, after some coursing, got between them and the woods ; whereupon a few signal shots were discharged by the rabble under their cover, and they set up a hideous shout ; as the party approached the garrison with their prize, two of the enemy appeared on the skirt of the wood, and fired their pieces, hoping thereby to draw our people after them into a snare ; but the Officers having, at their setting out, received positive orders to keep clear of the forests and thickets, they returned with their booty, being eight in number, and drove them into the fort.

29th. The inhabitants came this day to the Commanding Officer, claimed, and made a formal demand of, the horses brought home yesterday ; the Officers, being immediately sent for, transferred their right to the soldiers of the party, and the Colonel was desirous that some small gratuity might be given to the men, to encourage them to go on such kind of services hereafter ; especially as these claimants acknowledged they would not have ventured themselves for their horses, without a good party to sustain them (because they have had frequent experience of the enemy skulking in hollow ways, and under the sides of banks near to the hill, for several days, to take a scalp or a prisoner ;) at length the Colonel, seeing the honest burghers would neither pay salvage, nor reward the men in any respect, gave them up their horses, that there might be no room for preferring a complaint against an Officer or soldier under his command.

November. 1st. Clear weather, with a smart frost, after two days heavy rain. The garrison contracted with a merchant to supply

them all this winter with beef and mutton, at four-pence *per* pound; pork and veal (as long as the latter can be got) at six-pence; milk, which is a scarce article, we pay for at the rate of three-pence *per* quart, and eggs from eight-pence to one shilling *per* dozen; the want of [74] soft bread is supplied by sea-biscuit from the stores; these we soak in water, then divide them, and lay them before the fire to dry or toast; we have no butter, except what we are supplied with also from the stores, which is generally very rancid, notwithstanding it undergoes various operations to render it eatable: wine and spirituous liquors are not unreasonable, and in general much better (because free from adulteration) than in England. 1757. November.

Frosty weather to-day, and inclining to snow; our men are growing sickly; a Serjeant was buried this evening, who died of a malignant fever. 2d.

All the men off duty were sent to the orchards eastward of Mayass Hill, for a quantity of apples for the garrison; two Captains, a Lieutenant, two Ensigns, and our Chaplain, went volunteers, and obtained a covering party, which, with town's-people, artificers, &c. completed our command to about fifty armed men; as soon as we passed the barrier, a Corporal and six men were advanced to scour the country. After we had reached the orchards, about three miles from the fort, the covering party were ranged in such manner as to prevent any surprise, while the rest filled bags, haversacks, baskets, and even their pockets, with fruit; a most grateful treat to our poor soldiers in particular, so long accustomed to a salt diet, without any vegetables. After we had sent these men back to the garrison with their agreeable lading, the armed party divided themselves into two separate bodies, to take a tour through the country for a few hours; our plan was to pursue different routes, mutually promising to come to each other's assistance, in case of being attacked: we agreed to meet at a particular place by the river-side, which our guides had fixed upon; and the first who should reach this rendezvous were 3d.

1757. November. to whistle three times, and wait a reasonable space for the other; and, if the whole should not unite in half an hour, the division that should reach first were to cut three large notches in a tree with a hatchet, then return to the orchards, and wait until the remainder should join, marking, at [75] different places, a tree, to serve as a beacon or guidance to the others. Accordingly, one division directed their course by the river-side, keeping however under cover, while the other struck into the country to the southward. After we had reached the appointed rendezvous, which is computed about eleven miles from Annapolis, the signals were made, but no answer returned; we even waited long beyond the appointed time, and made several kinds of noise, yet had no prospect of our companions; two of the artificers, contrary to orders, fired at some ducks (which, being killed on the water, were carried down with the current) and the great reverberating report of these two shots was not even productive of any signal on the part of the rest of our detachment; so that we returned to the orchards by the same way that we had before taken, following our own marks we had left on the trees. We posted a few centinels, and then made fires to warm us; but it was near two hours before the other division rejoined us, and, through some mistake of their guide, who had bewildered himself in those forests, they were not able to make the appointed rendezvous. Upon our junction we compared notes; the river party saw some tracks of horses, and found some ordure quite fresh, which appeared to be human; however, from various circumstances, we rather believed it to be that of a bear, to which it is said to have some resemblance. The division who had directed their course to the southward saw no tracks of man or beast, neither did they hear the two shots that were fired, nor any other noise; their guide seemed shy every step he took, from which they concluded he was frightened, and thereby misled them. The French have been at great pains here in clearing and

planting these orchards, and, indeed, finer-flavoured apples, and greater variety, cannot in any other country be produced; there is also great plenty of cherry and plumb trees; but the fruit were either gathered, or had rotted and fallen off. These people have left large [76] patches of clear ground, with tufts or small patches of spruce trees at certain distances, which in winter, or bad weather, served their cattle for shelter, and now themselves for ambuscades, when they are disposed to way-lay our people; the branches of this tree are large and bushy, forming a thick cover: there are various kinds of it (as shall be hereafter recited) some whereof grow up into timber, and others are dwarfish; this last species is that which favours their barbarous stratagems, being as impenetrable to the eye as a brake of furze. We met with the ruins of several habitations, and many vestiges of industry; where the country was cleared, the soil appeared to be tolerably rich and good, and the grass inconceivably long, with great plenty of it, though very coarse. Upon the return of the first division to the orchards, for they lie in sight of the fort, the soldiers off duty were again sent out with sacks and a pair of horses, which we loaded, and returned to our garrison by a different route from that we had taken in the morning, wherein we found some difficulties, such as swamps, thick underwood or brush, &c. which, together with a violent snow that fell at the same time, and beat in our faces, soured our excursion, and rendered the latter part of the day disagreeable and very fatiguing. 1757. November.

It froze hard last night; to-day we have soft open weather; the Susanna[1] sloop, from New-York, arrived this morning, with stores and provisions; as every vessel is productive of some variety, the Masters of them are sure of meeting with a very hospitable reception from the Officers; we generally 4th.

[1] The *Susanna*. This appears to have been a French vessel, the *Susanne*, captured by the English some years before and placed under the command of Captain Robert.

1757. November. find them plain honest men and fair dealers, for they always, whether freighted on the Government's account or otherwise, bring some articles with them that they know will be acceptable, and, being punctually paid, they come as often as they can.

8th. The weather has changed to frost, and has been very severe these three days.

9th. [77] Cold, raw, and wet, with a thick foggy air.

10th. This being the anniversary of his Majesty's birth,[1] the same respectful rejoicings were observed as on the 23d ult. with this additional circumstance, that the Commandant politely entertained the garrison, and the soldiers were indulged with an advance of one shilling *per* man to those who were not on duty, and the same to the others, when they were relieved, on the day following; fifteen guns, and three vollies from the grenadier company, were discharged after dinner, on drinking the healths of *our gracious Monarch and his Royal Family*.

12th. The severe winter weather begins gradually to steal upon us; it is fair to-day, and the wind extremely sharp.

On account of the various representations of this climate by authors and travellers, I propose to continue my diary of the weather until the first of May next, and then decline it, except on some very uncommon change, or remarkable event.

13th. Clear, dry, frosty weather and sun-shine: arrived the Swift schooner from Halifax, last from fort Cumberland; the Master informs us, that a few nights ago (the 9th inst. in the evening) a party of French and Indians came down and cut away a sloop, that lay at anchor in the creek at the head of the bason; she was about sixty tons burden; that there were only a man and boy on board, when the enemy came and took possession of her, they being a sleep in the cabbin: that they worked her up Chepordie river; but, being immediately pursued, both by land and water, by a vigorous sally of

[1] George II, born 1683.

regulars and rangers from the fort, the rabble set fire to and abandoned her; the party came up with her before she was much damaged, and had time to save some sugars, and other articles, that lay in casks in the hold. About two hours before this happened, Mr. Arbucle, the Master, carried on shore twelve hundred dollars he had brought for the subsistence of the garrison. As this is neither [78] the first nor second act of this kind that has happened since we recovered that part of the country, it is surprising some effectual means are not taken to prevent such flagrant insults; for, if the enemy were to become masters of a trader or two, they would in a short time reduce fort Cumberland to great streights; a good block-house with a couple of guns, erected on a convenient spot (of which there are many) and surrounded with a stout palisado work, would prevent such accidents for the future, be a great defence to the inhabitants, and also contribute much to the safety of their cattle, when turned out upon the marshes; this creek being very little short of an English mile from the garrison. We likewise learn that, since we left that place, the enemy have been so troublesome as to appear in small parties of two or three, in different places round them; that the rangers are always sent out when they have the impudence to shew themselves; but, as it is impossible, by the situation of that place, to make a detachment from the fort without their knowledge, there is no coming up with them; for, before they can reach the skirts of the wood, the rabble may be at two miles distance. 1757. November.

Soft, open weather: this evening arrived the Trial sloop[1] of and from Philadelphia, with King's stores and provisions; the Master of her, who is one of the Friends,[2] is an intelligent, conversable man, and informs us, that Governor Morris[3] has 15th.

[1] The *Trial* sloop, Captain Wallace.

[2] The Society of Friends or Quakers.

[3] Robert Hunter Morris, born in Morrisania, N.Y., about 1700, became Chief-Justice of New York and New Jersey, and in 1754 was appointed Governor

1757. November. concluded treaties of peace with ten Indian nations, called the Shawanese[1] and Delaware Indians, whose residence is chiefly on the river Sasquehannah ;[2] that they have received a present of 8000l. sterling, five of which were given by Pennsylvania, and the remainder by the Government ; and that a great part of this sum is to be applied, at their own request, to purchase arms, ammunition, working tools, blankets, and other cloathing of British manufacture, for their use. The honest Quaker farther says, that it is universally expected, affairs will assume such an aspect this winter, as probably to produce in the ensuing campaign, great events and glory to the British arms.

17th. [79] Soft weather and gloomy ; about one o'clock it grew exceeding dark ; this was succeeded by a violent storm of wind, that lasted for three hours, and was then followed by a very heavy rain, which brought on fine weather in the evening.

18th. Foggy air and wet weather : arrived the Master Mason[3] sloop from New-York, with King's stores and provisions ; this vessel brings us an account of some successful skirmishes between our light troops and the savages to the southward, but no particulars : the Earl of Loudoun has ordered all the

of Pennsylvania. Because of the irritation of the tribes at the illegal encroachments of the settlers on their lands and the activity of the French in inciting hostility after Braddock's defeat, he had to face a very difficult Indian situation. Negotiations were carried on by him with the natives, but nothing definitive had been accomplished when, as a result of a quarrel with the Legislature over the method of raising war-taxes, Morris resigned in 1756. This was more than a year before the conference of which the author is here speaking, which was held by Denny, the next governor. The Quakers of Pennsylvania had espoused the cause of the Indians, and were instrumental in securing justice for them, so that, in meetings held at Easton on the Delaware River in July and November of 1756, July, 1757, and October, 1758, a lasting peace was established between the English and the Delawares, Shawnees (or Shawanese), Mohegans, and other nations. Morris died in Shrewsbury, N.J., February 20, 1764.

[1] Shawanese and Delaware Indians, part of the Algonquin tribe.

[2] The Susquehanna River flowing through Pennsylvania and Maryland into Chesapeake Bay.

[3] *Master Mason*, a packet ship, Captain Wentworth.

cadets, or volunteers of the army, to serve among the rangers, until the opening of the next campaign. 1757. November.

Surprising fine weather to-day for the season, with sunshine; two Officers, with a Serjeant and twelve rank and file, marched this morning to fort Faggot, which they compute to be about ten miles distant, and returned late in the evening; the wood is regularly brought up from thence in sloops to the quay, whence it is carried by the soldiers off duty up to the covered way, and laid in piles or cords. 19th.

A hard frost to-day. 20th.

Showery weather, very cold, and blows hard. 21st.

A hard frost, clear and pleasant; a party marched out to cover some Officers, who went on a tour of pleasure; they killed a good many partridges and squirrels, and returned in the evening. 22d.

Severe weather, with showers of sleet, and hard frost; the wood cutters and covering party returned this day to the garrison from fort Faggot, and made as droll and grotesque an appearance as a detachment of Hungarian or Croatian irregulars, occasioned by the length of their beards, the disordered shape of their hats, and the raggedness of their party-coloured cloathing; for some had brown, others blue watch-coats (buckled round their waists with a cartouch-box strap) and some were in their threadbear uniforms; in short they had very little of the British regular about them, and it could not be otherwise, the kind of service whereon they had been em- [80] ployed duly considered; but I have said enough on this subject before, respecting troops long stationed in this province, who must in a great measure lay aside the uniformity of the clean, smart soldier, and substitute, in his stead, the slovenly, undisciplined wood-hewer, sand-digger, and hod-carrier. 23d.

A sloop arrived this day from Boston, with stores; by whom the Colonel has received an order, that the Officers and men must be provided with all manner of camp equipage and 23d.

1757. November. necessaries, by the first day of March next. This affords great pleasure, as it opens to us a prospect of being relieved and going upon service with the army, the ensuing campaign.

25th. Cold weather these two days, with rain and snow alternately.

26th. It froze hard last night, and blows fresh to-day; the cold is much more severe than we have hitherto perceived it; as it strengthens, our soldiers become more healthy.

27th. Frost and snow; the Nova Scotia winter now sets in with hasty strides; we had pleasant skaiting on the ice to-day.

29th. We see frequent fires, on the north side, in the woods up the river. The Sea Flower sloop,[1] from Biddeford (New England) arrived this day in ballast, last from fort Cumberland; he says all is well there; being asked his reason for coming up, as he had no packet or any thing else for us, he replied, that, suspecting bad weather and a contrary wind, he ran into the bason, and intended to come to an anchor; but, seeing a great smoke in the woods and seven or eight canoes on the shore, he concluded it would not be safe to stay there; herein we see one of the bad consequences of not having a vessel stationed here, for the protection of this river.

30th. This being St. Andrew's day, the same was observed by the Officers and other Gentlemen of this garrison: it froze and thawed alternately, all these last twenty-four hours, with a very sharp air.

December. 1st. Some snow fell last night; hard frost, and clear sun-shine; six Officers, and a party of soldiers, all volunteers, amounting in the whole[2] thirty armed men, went out to scour the country; as to[3] [81] route was through the orchards to the eastward of Mayass Hill, we took all the Officers' servants and other men off duty, loaded them with apples, and sent them back to the fort; after which, the day being pleasant, we agreed to extend our walk, and take a view of the country; we soon got upon the tracks of cattle, which we easily discovered by the snow

[1] The *Sea-Flower*, a sloop, under the command of Captain Paul.
[2] "whole to thirty": see Errata. [3] "their": see Errata.

on the ground ; and, when we had marched about five or six miles, we came upon human footsteps : some of them had the impression of a Moggosan* [1], or Indian slipper ; and others of a sharp-toe'd shoe, with a high short heel ; these last, as our guide informed us, are what are usually worn by the French regulars, and sometimes by Canadians, who often pass into this country, either to join the natives in some of their enterprises, or to traffic with them : we also got upon the tracks of horses, and found some of their dung before it was cold, and afterwards some pieces of apples indented with human teeth, which had not yet changed their colour ; from these and other circumstances (needless to be recited) we had reason to think the enemy had discovered us, and were retired to one of their fastnesses : these are generally on a road or path, by which they expect their enemy must pass ; however we still [82] marched on, and, coming soon after upon fresh footsteps of men, we halted our party, animated our soldiers, and charged them not to suffer themselves to be surprised, or terrified by shouts or yells : they promised, 'they would not yield an

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* The reader is desired to observe, as he will frequently meet with this epithet in the course of this work, that these slippers are generally made of the skin of beaver, elk, calf, sheep, or other pliant leather, half dressed : each Moggosan is of one intire piece, joined or sewed up in the middle of the vamp, and closed behind like the quarters of a shoe ; they have no additional sole or heel-piece, and must be used with three or four frize socks, or folds of thick flannel wrapt round the foot ; they are tied on the instep with thongs of the same leather, which are fastened to the joining behind, and run through the upper part of the quarters ; they are exceeding warm, and much fitter for the winters of this country than our European shoe, as a person may walk over sheets of ice without the least danger of falling : the meaner sort of French and Indians make them of a tougher and thicker leather, but the heads of tribes, and better kind of French, affect a more gay, dressy sort, with very broad quarters to them, that turn over like the deep or broad neck of a shirt ; and this part, as well as the vamp from the toe upwards, is curiously ornamented with narrow slips of red cloath, covered with white, green, and blue beads sewed on in various whimsical figures. *** This brogue, or shoe, is peculiar to the savages. —*Note by author.*

[1] Moccasin, mockasin, molkasin, morgisson, mogasheen, mackassin, mocsen ; in the New Hampshire provincial papers of 1704 the spelling is mockasin.

1757, December. inch, but would stand by us like good soldiers:' accordingly we advanced in excellent order, following the enemy's steps to a house or cabbin, in the center of a clear piece of ground, which our guide told us was called *Pré* [*r*]*ond* (it being of a circular form) about ten miles from the garrison; we found the door was fast, and, not seeing any key-hole or other mark on the outside, by which it was secured, we naturally concluded that it must be bolted on the inside, and that we had now caught some of the river vermin in their own trap; whereupon we surrounded it, and called to the enemy, in French, to open the door and surrender; but, receiving no answer, we declared we would instantly set fire to it,—and immediately one of our men, more impatient than the rest, with some difficulty forced the door and rushed in with his bayonet only in his hand; it is not to be wondered we received no answer to our menacing challenges, for the birds were flown. It was not a dwelling, but a store-house, and was partly under ground; there were three rows of shelves on every side of it, covered with long wheaten straw, on which lay a choice collection of apples; the floor was likewise covered with straw and fruit, which were the best we had met with since we came into the country; there was nothing else in the house, except a few pair of wooden shoes, and a small vessel resembling an half peck. As soon as the detachment had filled their pockets and haversacks with part of their plunder, we set fire to the house, and only tarried until we saw it past all recovery; while we were thus employed, our guide examined the field, and discovered in the snow the tracks of a small party of men, which he followed, as far as he could with safety, and came back to report to us; he told us he knew which way the enemy were gone; that their route led to a [83] mill, where there was a river, and (to use his own words) 'as wicked a pass* as any in the country.'

* I am informed by some of our men who were made prisoners on the 6th of this month (as will hereafter appear) and made their escape the summer

We consulted whether there was no possibility of taking a tour, so as to come on the back of them in that place? He answered in the negative, the day being so far advanced: so we agreed it would be most prudent to avoid any night-work, and accordingly, directing our guide to re-conduct us by a different path to Annapolis, we proceeded on our return by a lower road, where we perceived many footsteps up and down the country, and three or four scattered huts; these we looked into, but, finding nothing in them, we would not lose time, by staying to burn them; we did not meet with any thing remarkable until we had reached the back of the orchards, which was about three miles and an half from our garrison, and S. S. E. of it; and there we discovered in a close thicket an abandoned camp, and from many circumstances they could not be fewer in number than fifteen or sixteen, nor was it long since the enemy had been there, as plainly appeared by the small trees they cut down for fuel; while we were viewing and making our observations, we heard a noise, when immediately a dog barked, and howled afterwards as if silenced by force; this being an advantageous place, we formed our men, and stayed above half an hour, in hopes they would return to their camp, our guide and three men advanced together about two musket-shots' distance from us, towards the place whence the noise proceeded; and by his account they had been lately here, for he saw their tracks every-where, and was persuaded they had withdrawn themselves either to increase their numbers, or in the hopes of decoying us after them to a place where they thought they might [84] give us *a coup de surprise* with greater safety; this not being improbable, and the evening drawing on a-pace, we repaired to the fort, without any accident, or other remarkable

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following, that the enemy told them they saw us burning their store-house; that they swore they would be revenged of us before our return to the fort, and had actually retired to Barnaby's mills, in order to way-lay us, as they expected we would proceed farther up into the country.—*Note by author.*

1757. December. occurrence: we found all our friends uneasy about us, as we had been expected to dinner; and, had we continued out much longer, a detachment was to have been sent in pursuit of us.

3d. Variable weather these two days.—Upon finding the enemy still numerous in Nova Scotia, for I always apprehended they, or the greatest part of them, had been seized and sent out of the province, I was naturally induced to make some inquiries on that subject; and the only information I could receive was, that forty-eight families, who formerly resided, and were well settled on this river, had retired with their effects to the mountains, and other inaccessible places, to wait the event of the war; they were generally reputed neutrals, and were assured, that, if they would take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and swear neither to assist, traffic, nor correspond with the French, their allies, or the subjects of France in Canada, they should not be molested; but this they obstinately declined, whereupon, fearing compulsion might be used, or rigorous measures taken with them, they thought it safest to withdraw; and now, in order to procure a livelihood, they are obliged to have recourse to robbing and plundering, and the Governor-General of Canada has taken them under his protection, by placing an Officer among them, supplying them with arms and ammunition, and rewarding them for scalps and prisoners. What number of fighting men they had among those families, or in any other part of the province, I never could learn for certain; but have procured a return of the men, women, and children that were shipped off to the continent, on the breaking out of this war, with their destinations, &c. &c. a copy of which I shall here present the reader: I also obtained the names of the fugitives, or those who had retired; but I decline inserting them, as they are of no consequence.

[85] A list of the ships, tonnage, and the number of days for which they were victualled, with the number of French

inhabitants of both sexes, that were taken from hence, and their destinations. 1757. December.

Ships Names and Destinations.	No. of Days Victualled.	Tons.	Men.	Women.	Sons.	Daughters.	Total.
The Helena, for Boston	28	166	52	52	108	111	323
The Edward, for Connecticut	28	139	41	42	86	109	278
The two Sisters, for Ditto	28	140	42	40	95	103	280
The Experiment, for New York	28	136	40	45	56	59	200
The Pembroke * for North Carolina	42	139	33	37	70	92	232
The Hopson, for South Carolina	42	177	42	46	120	134	342
A Schooner, for Ditto	42	30	1	1	4	3	9
Vessels, seven	238	927	251	263	539	611	1664

I am informed, that several of these unhappy people died on their passage; that many of them are suspected to have found means to escape, and now live with the remaining fugitives in the mountains.[1]

We have had smart frosts for several nights; by day, soft open weather and mild. A party of soldiers and artificers went over the water to cut some wood for firing; they had no covering party, as it was not conceived the enemy would presume to molest them within the range of the cannon of the fort; about twelve o'clock, when they were refreshing themselves at dinner, they were surprised by a party of Frenchmen who posted themselves on a rising ground and fired at them; 6th.

* This ship was taken by a privateer in her passage, and carried into St. John's river; the passengers are returned to this district.—*Note by author.*

[1] These numbers are for the Annapolis district only. The total number of persons deported from Acadia has not been exactly determined. Colonel Winslow, who had charge of the operations at Grand Prée, wrote to Colonel (afterwards Brigadier-General) Monckton, that he had "Filled up all the Transportes . . . which amounted to 1510 Persons, after which I have left upon my Hands 600 People. . . . Maj'r Murray (commanding at Fort Edward) has got Rid of his whole amounting to Upwards 1100." Colonel Monckton, commanding at Fort Cumberland, sent over one thousand persons from that district. See *Journal of Colonel John Winslow*, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. iii.

1757. December. there were not above three or four of our people that had arms with them, who precipitately betook [86] themselves to flight towards the water-side, the ground being there clear and open ; one of our best grenadiers was killed on the spot[1] ; six men were made prisoners with Mr. Eason,[2] the Master-Carpenter of the garrison.

The troops in the fort were instantly alarmed ; a Captain, two Subalterns and seventy men, were ordered to go over to the assistance of the party, and in pursuit of the enemy ; however, there not being any barge, flat, or boat on the river to ferry such a number over (for there were only a small whale-boat and an old crazy canoe on the shore) the detachment was countermanded for the present : two Officers went voluntiers, and took over with them a Serjeant and twelve rank and file ; but even this, for want of proper boats, was attended with delay ; as soon as they had all crossed the river, they proceeded into the woods, and tracked the enemy and their prisoners, some of whom they believe are wounded, for they traced their blood above two miles from the place where the wood-cutters had been way-laid ; the Officers, being injoined by the Colonel not to go too far, returned, and brought with them the corpse of the grenadier, who was stripped of every thing except his breeches, but they had not time to scalp him ;

[1] Grenadier Miller : see also p. 198.

[2] John Easson (or Easton, in the papers relating to him), a young Scotsman, was commissioned by the Board of Ordnance in 1737 as a master artificer, and sent on service to Annapolis Royal. He married, on January 27, 1741, Avis Stewart, who joined her husband some years later in Nova Scotia. In 1751 he was granted the lands of Nicholas Gautier, a native of France, whose property, consisting of 520 acres, had been confiscated by the Crown in 1745. The condition of Easson's grant was that he should keep up a mill on the Lequille River, a little beyond Gates Hill. On the top of a little eminence, near the present Dargie's Mill, stands the old Easson House, built on the site of the original dwelling. After his capture, Easson was carried to Petitcodiac, and from thence to Miramichi, and finally to Quebec, and released after the capitulation of Quebec in 1759. He then returned to Annapolis Royal. Of his four children, the first two died without issue; descendants of the others remain in Nova Scotia to-day, and some of them occupy the lands granted to the first Easson.

the enemy returned to the same place in the evening, fired a *feu de joie*, and set up a shout; whereupon a detachment of two Captains, two Lieutenants, two Ensigns, four Serjeants, two Drummers, and one hundred rank and file, with four guides, were ordered out to scour the country, and endeavour, if possible, to cross the river above, not only to recover the prisoners, but also to give a sensible check to the rabble for their insolence; we were reinforced by a Captain, an Ensign, three young Gentlemen Cadets, some townsmen and a few soldiers, who all turned out voluntiers, which augmented our command *to one hundred and thirty armed men:* we marched out in the dusk of the evening, and immediately it began to rain, and continued until it was dark, and then it [87] poured heavily for some hours; the darkness of the night obliged us to halt several times, until our guides, with an advanced guard, went forward to find out the road, which the thickness of the woods and the obscurity of the night rendered difficult; the rear of our detachment lost themselves, and, as soon as they perceived it, one of the Officers fired two shots, as a signal to halt the van, who had by this time reached the fording-place at Saw-mill-creek[1] (a small river about fourteen yards over) and here, the marsh being spacious and clear, we halted until the whole should join; it is conjectured these two shots alarmed the country, but there was no avoiding it, and it was a pre-concerted signal: in the space of half an hour the remainder of our detachment came up, and we then waded the creek, which luckily was not above knee-deep, for as this, as well as the main river, is always considerably swelled by the tide of flood, so it would not have been passable at high water, which would have retarded our march, and put us to great inconvenience: as soon as we had all crossed over, we halted, to put our men in good order, and then—proceeded

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[1] Saw-mill-creek. This stream is now known as Moschelle, and is about three miles from Annapolis Royal. It used to be called Ruisseau Fourchu by the Acadians.

1757, December. briskly, the country being open, until we reached Joseen's village,[1] distant about seven miles from Annapolis; and, finding it impracticable to proceed farther, by reason of many trenches and other obstructions in the roads, we retired to an adjacent field, where stood the ruins of an old house, and some wooden fences adjoining to it; here it was agreed to lie on our arms until morning. It had hitherto rained very hard, but the weather cleared up by the wind's shifting to the North-east, and it blew fresh with an intense frost, inconceivable for its sudden transition from soft rain, and its severity: we did not venture to make a fire, lest the enemy should be farther alarmed; and, as we were all wet, and the night so extremely cold that we could not sleep, we refreshed ourselves with victuals and drink, and walked about, for the remainder of the night, with our arms in our hands.

7th. [88] Hard frost with some showers of sleet: as soon as the day had dawned, our detachment was formed, and we set forward, directing our course under cover of the woods as much as possible, to avoid being discovered: about nine o'clock we crossed two branches of Barnaby's river,[2] which is

[1] Joseen's Village. From the description given by the author, and the distance of the village from the fort, it is evident that Joseen's Village is identical with the village of Rosette. Jacques Léger, a drummer in the French army, went to Acadia in 1693 with one of the regiments and was stationed at Fort Nachouac opposite the town of Fredericton. Léger was nicknamed La Rosette, and two years later, when his regiment was disbanded, La Rosette settled on the banks of the Annapolis River, and was married during the same year to Madeleine Trahan. He died March 7, 1751, at the age of 88. The descendants of Léger have not adopted the name of Rosette, although in some of the early documents both names are used. Joseen may have been a name applied to Léger or Rosette, although the name does not occur in any of the parish registers. It seems more probable, however, that it is a typographical error.

[2] Barnaby's River, now known as Round Hill Brook, is about seven miles from the town of Annapolis Royal. Near the foot of Round Hill, known to the Acadians as Prée Ronde, stood the village of the Thibodeaus. Pierre Thibodeau, born in France in 1631, came to Port Royal in 1658 and settled at Prée Ronde. He was known as the miller of the Round Hill, and he married in 1660 Jeanne Terriot. Several years before the expulsion of the

about twelve miles from the garrison : the ground leading to the fording-place is high and woody on this side, and very low on the other : the descent is a narrow, winding, steep road, opposite to which, after you pass the river, is a thick orchard inclosed with a fence of boards between five and six feet high : this flanks the pass on the right hand,—and the remains of a large saw-mill and offices,—the left. Here we had some expectations of meeting with the enemy, it being reputed a dangerous pass ; for, as the planks, wherewith the orchard is inclosed, are not laid close by two inches, these spaces would well answer the service of musketry ; so that, after we got down the hollow road, and passed one arm of the river, a dozen tolerable marksmen within-side of this fence would do great execution among us, while as many more might run down from the thickets which were a little higher up, possess themselves of the precipice behind us, and a fewer number also occupy the old houses to the left, and thereby get the detachment between three distinct fires. This is so feasible, that it would not admit of any doubt of effectual success ; and my reason for being so particular, in my description of the place, will be known before the return of our detachment to the garrison ; having met with no annoyance here, we vainly flattered ourselves we had stolen a march upon the enemy, and that we should soon surprise them in their settlements, either on this, or the north side of the main river. We continued our route through very difficult and disagreeable forests, some rough, and others swampy ; and, about one o'clock, we crossed Renne Forêt[1] bridge, another defilé that afterwards proved fatal to many of our party.—We came now upon the tracks of Moggasans, and also of some horses, which it was evident, by the snow or sleet [89]

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Acadians, Thibodeau's property passed into the hands of Etienne Martin, who was commonly known as Barnabé, and in the course of time the name of Barnabé was given to the river and to the mill.

[1] See note, p. 122.

1757. December. that had fallen this morning, were quite new ; whereupon we quickened our pace until we arrived at Peter Godet's,[1] about twenty-four miles from the fort ; it is the first fording-place called the Freshes. Here it was intended we should cross the river Annapolis, fall upon the enemy's settlements, and return by the road they had taken with their prisoners on the 6th instant ; but, from the depth of water and mud, it was not possible. We saw three horses on the north side, which we were of opinion were those we had traced, and had with their riders swam over the river : finding we were disappointed here, we possessed ourselves of a thicket on an eminence to the right of the road, (it being too late in the day to attempt any thing farther, and we had neither halted or refreshed since we left Joseen's Village this morning :) This is called Godet's Village. Here we incamped, and indulged ourselves with fires : we made beds of spruce tops, laid in a circular form, with a fire in the center, and shaded round the windward side with larger branches : thus we lay after the manner of the Indians. We posted a proper number of centinels, who were relieved every hour, and the Subalterns visited them every quarter of an hour : their orders were to challenge every body, and oblige them to give a countersign, which was Brest, (for we too sanguinely flattered ourselves, by intelligence we

[1] The author is evidently mistaken on this point, for, according to the plans of Annapolis River, Godet's Village was on the north side of the river, at or near Ruffee's Hill. It was fourteen miles distant from the fort, and not twenty-four as the author states, and was named after Pierre Godet, or Gaudet, born at Port Royal in 1652, the son of Denis Gaudet and Martine Gauthier. Pierre Gaudet married in 1672 Anne Blanchard, and their son Bernard, born in 1673, and married in 1699 to Jeanne Terriot, was, as his father had been, one of the principal inhabitants on the banks of the Annapolis. Pierre Gaudet, born in 1700, eldest son of Bernard, married in 1720 Marie Belliveau, and inherited the paternal property. The third Pierre Gaudet, born in 1723, and son of the second Pierre, was married in 1747 to Marie Madeleine Aucoin. He died at Memramcook, Westmorland County, New Brunswick, in 1813, and was the great-great-grandfather of Placide Gaudet, of the Department of Public Archives, Canada, who has carried on many valuable researches in regard to the history of the Acadians.

had received from Boston, that this port and harbour were under British colours. After we had secured our camp, and rested ourselves, one of the Officers, and Mr. Dyson,[1] our principal guide, with a Serjeant and twelve men, were ordered to try once more if they could wade the river, but with no better success than before. In their making this attempt, several signal-shots were fired by the enemy on the opposite side. In the evening we made a third attempt to ford the river, and found it utterly impracticable. In returning through a thicket to the eastward of our camp, we made a prize of thirteen sheep, which we instantly killed, and divided among the detachment, reserving only one for the Officers and guides, which we roasted after the Indian [90] manner,† and afforded us a comfortable repast; but we unfortunately paid dear for it the next day; a most immoderate frost, with a severe wind at north-east. As soon as it was light this morning, our Commanding Officer called all the Officers and guides together, and consulted on the measures next to be taken; the result of which was, that we should proceed farther up the river, and endeavour to find out a fording-place, where we might cross over to the north side: accordingly we marched about six miles higher up, to a place called Bernard Grotet's,* alias Peter Bernard's.*[2] Here we hoped to succeed, but we were again disappointed, the river being uniformly of the same breadth, as it is opposite to the garrison; and, the higher up we marched, the more rapid did we find the current. We

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[1] John Dyson was a prominent citizen of Annapolis. At one time he was ordnance keeper, and sometimes styled clerk and storekeeper of his Majesty's Board of Ordnance. His daughters married officers of rank. Margaret Dyson was the grandmother of General Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars.

† We fixed a quarter on a long faggot-stick, and, as we sat round the fire, roasted it in the flames; we had no salt, therefore we relished it with some of the King's pork, broiled on the embers.—*Note by author.*

* These are the names of the late Chiefs of those parts of the county. —*Note by author.*

[2] Now Paradise, on the south side of the Annapolis River, and nineteen miles from Annapolis Royal.

1757. December. took a view of the country, and saw a great deal of clear ground seemingly fertile: we found a neat small painted canoe, which we staved and sent adrift: opposite to it on the north shore lay a more ordinary one, with many tracks of human feet on the mud at both sides. Here we consulted again about our farther operations; and, upon inquiry, we discovered that the detachment had neither bread, rum, wine, nor any other refreshment, except a few joints of French mutton our soldiers had got in their haversacs; that many of our men were lame and foundered, as were also some of the Officers, and the whole command exhausted with the preceding day's and two nights fatigue. Under these circumstances it was resolved to return homewards. Our guides, being examined about the situation of the country and roads, declared they were as great strangers to these parts as ourselves, and that they had never been so high up before. Moreover, that they knew of no road, nor would they undertake to reconduct us to our garrison by any other than that which we had [91] taken. This being the case, and we now above thirty miles from Annapolis,[1] there was no room for hesitation, or time to delay: so we resolved to return. Three horses were picked up in our way, and we marched about ten miles unmolested, which brought us to Renne Forêt river,[2] a most dangerous pass, about twenty miles from the fort. Here we were suddenly attacked with a dreadful shower of ball and buck-shot, seconded by as horrid a yell as ever I heard.—This, with our Commanding Officer's being shot dead on the spot, and all our advanced-guard (except

[1] This was really only nineteen miles.

[2] René Forêt's River. This place was in reality only about thirteen miles from the fort. It is now known as Bloody Creek, and is a mile west of Carleton's Corner, which is opposite Bridgetown. René Forest, son of Michel Forest, or Forêt, a native of France, and of Marie Hébert, was born at Port Royal in 1670. He married Françoise Dugas, and died April 20, 1751. His brother Jean, born in 1677, and married to Isabella Labarre, settled at Beaubassin, and was one of the maternal ancestors of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, 1896–1911.

three or four) cut off, who had got over the bridge, threw our men into some confusion, and made them fall back, repeatedly crying out, *Retreat to the plains.* This we were compelled to submit to, as they were not above an hundred yards behind our rear, the center of which was still within reach of the adjacent forests, if the enemy had thought proper to follow and line the skirts of them ; but this they did not venture to do, contenting themselves with destroying the advanced-guard who were under the bank below them, and shouting all the time according to their custom. When we had reached the plains, or more properly a tract of cleared ground, the next Officer in command detached four Subalterns with small parties to the skirts of the woods, forming a kind of square ; while he, with the remainder in the center, consulted with the guides and the Officers who were volunteers, about the measures to be pursued in our present dilemma. These gentlemen and Mr. Dyson were not long coming to a resolution, and it was agreed upon to force the pass, and dislodge the enemy : whereupon the parties were called in, the whole was drawn up in a rank intire, (for hitherto we had marched two deep, and the Officers took their posts ; but, before we moved off, a trusty Serjeant * was sent forward to the hollow road, to possess himself of every thing the deceased Officer had about him ; which he gallantly performed, regardless of the [92] enemy's fire and noise, for they plainly perceived what he was doing, and endeavoured to make him desist ; but he persevered until he had got the Captain's laced hat, watch, sash, fusil, cartouch-box, pistols, and his purse with near thirty guineas in it ; all which he faithfully accounted for. In this small space of time the Officers went from right to left, animating the men ; and particularly the Commanding Officer harangued them very coolly on the occasion. Every thing being now adjusted, and our soldiers, by the example of their

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* This brave fellow, a North-Briton, by name Cockburne, was justly rewarded with five guineas, and the Captain's hat.—*Note by author.*

1757. December. Officers, in good spirits, we moved forward to force this detested pass, which I shall here describe : —— "The enemy "lay concealed to the right and left of the road, on a prodigious "steep hill covered with trees and spruce bushes so thick, as "to be rendered almost impenetrable. This hill was on the "opposite side of the bridge, and a-head of our line of march : "they had a breast-work before them of stones and felled trees ; "at the bottom was the river, which discharged itself into that "of Annapolis, and is between forty and fifty feet broad : over "it were thrown, by way of bridge, two planks of timber laid "close together, both making eighteen or twenty inches in "breadth, so that one man only could go over a-breast, and "there was no hand-rail. These timbers were supported at "each end by by [*sic*] piers of earth and stones, and were elevated "about twenty feet above the water.* The ground we were "on was high, and led with a descent through a hollow road "to the river-side, where we received the enemy's fire, and "there the marsh was flat, clear, and open. On both sides of "the hollow way were dark thick woods, and the road took a "turn to the right with a gradual rising, and three steep steps "to the bridge ; on the other side, the road inclined to the "left, and ran serpentine up the hill, with dark forests on each "side." Such is situation of this defilé, which our detach- [93] ment forced their way through about eleven o'clock this morning, in the face of a heavy fire, where a more resolute party of fifty or sixty men might repulse ten times their numbers with inconceivable loss ; and this shews, that, though the enemy's plan was well concerted, it was ill supported ; by the time that the Commanding Officer, volunteers, and guides, with the van, had gained the opposite side of the bridge, there was a little halt or stop for the space of a minute ; which

* There seemed to be a fording-place through the river, parallel with the roads on each side ; but I am told it is not passable for people on foot, even in summer, when the tide is full in, which was the case when we were attacked. I think, if they had cut down the bridge, they would still have had greater advantages over us.—*Note by author.*

they perceiving, called out to their companions, and huzza'd. The Officer, who brought up the rear, answered them ; which encouraged our men to advance boldly, and pass the bridge, not however without farther loss, as the rabble still repeated their fire. Upon the van's marching up the hill, they saw the enemy sculking and running from the right to the left ; whereupon they briskly ascended, followed them into the woods on the left, chaced them from their ambush, and gave them a close fire in their flight : by this time the whole had got up the precipice, and, when they found themselves in this situation, their ardour to pursue was inconceivably laudable : but the enemy were gone off, we could not tell where ; they knew the country, and we were strangers to it : therefore the Commanding Officers halted, to have the mens' arms examined, and properly loaded : then consulting farther with Mr. Dyson, he gave it as his opinion, in the hearing of the soldiers,—"that since the rascals were gone, they intended "to meet us at Barnaby's River and Mills,[1] (before described) "where they would undoubtedly way-lay us a second time, and "dispute every inch of the country to Annapolis ; that we had "better push on, and secure that place before them, for that "there was no other road for us, by which we could return to "the fort."—This speech was delivered so clear,—with such emphasis, and, as I said before, expressed in the hearing of the men, who had a great opinion of this gentleman in particular, and of our other guides, on account of their knowledge of the country, as well as of the enemy and their peculiar manner of making war ; that, after what had already happened, it would have been in vain to [94] think of pursuing other measures ; therefore it was agreed to move forward with all expedition, and endeavour to get before the enemy : but, coming to a part of Barnaby's river that branched out in two places, we crossed the left arm of it, and forced a road over a steep swampy hill, which, however, was so deep, as to take

1757. December.

[1] See note, p. 118.

1757. December. us up to our knees, and it was with difficulty some men could be pulled out of it, even with the loss of their shoes. By this course we shortened our road considerably, and avoided that dangerous defilé at the mills we had so much apprehended. When we reached Commeau's village,[1] within eight or nine miles of our journey's end, the ground being clear and open beyond shot (or reach) of any thickets, the wounded men we brought with us begged to have a halt, which was granted for half an hour ; and, in this interim, we were agreeably surprised with a sight of one of our Officers, (who had been a volunteer on this unlucky expedition) two guides, and eighteen of our soldiers, whom we had given up, concluding they were among the other sufferers at the place of action ; this gentleman told us, that, seeing these men submit to the influence of one of the guides who headed them, it occurred to him that it was not improbable but a way might be discovered whereby to cross Forêt river higher up, and charge the enemy either in flank or rear, while we engaged them in front, and therefore took the command of this party ; but, finding it impracticable to succeed, and hearing the fire we made at the bridge, he hastened to our assistance, fought his way over the pass without any loss, after giving the enemy who had returned there two regular fires on the top of the hill to the left ; and, perceiving, by the loss of blood from some of our wounded men who were able to march with us, that we had directed our course homeward, he made the best of his way after us. We arrived at our garrison, between five and six in the evening, much harrassed (as may be well supposed) after a march of about

[1] Comeau's Village, on the Annapolis River, was named after Pierre Comeau, who was born at Port Royal in 1650. On the plans of the Annapolis River, the place is named L'Esturgeon, from the fact that large quantities of sturgeon were caught in the basin opposite the village. Comeau took up his residence here and was surnamed L'Esturgeon. Near this place, on the south side of the river, there is a sandbar, and it was here, on May 24, 1650, that Charles de Menou, Seigneur d'Aulnay de Charnizay, governor of Acadia, perished from exposure, his birch canoe having been stranded on this bar.

thirty miles, without any refreshment since the preceding night; we did [95] not meet with the least annoyance, though we nevertheless took every necessary precaution. 1757. December.

Our loss in this expedition amounted to one Captain, one Serjeant, and twenty-two rank and file, (six of whom we brought back with us) besides twenty-four firelocks, sixteen bayonets, twenty-three cartouch-boxes, one drum, and a number of axes, hatchets, camp-kettles, &c. &c. It is difficult to ascertain what number of the enemy engaged us, but, by the weight of their fire, we conjecture they were not less than forty, or more than fifty; and, from several circumstances, we conclude they may have about twelve killed and wounded. It was an inconceivable mortification to us to leave so many disabled men behind us; but alas! what alternative had we in our present situation? We were not prepared to lie out another night, and we were this day expected at the garrison; we had neither liquor nor provisions of any kind; therefore, under such circumstances, and at this rigorous season, it might have proved a matter of some difficulty to keep our soldiers steady, or under discipline: they seemed, from this day's experience, to be fully convinced, that they were by no means a match for the rabble in the woods; the opinion of our guides, and others who accompanied us, seemed to have more weight than any thing their Officers could say; so that, in such a dilemma, there was an absolute necessity of returning to the fort as fast as possible, to give our poor fellows time to recollect themselves. The Officers and volunteers exerted themselves as much as men could do, and indeed the generality of the detachment behaved well; some, it is true, were restless and foolish, but they were young, strangers to woods and bush-fighting, and, as this was their first bleeding, every allowance ought to be made for inexperienced soldiers, especially when obliged to act out of their own proper sphere.

The wind changed last night to the southward, which brought on rain; to-day soft and mild, with intermittent 9th.

1757. December. showers and sun-shine. [96] This morning the Serjeant of Hog island blockhouse sent to acquaint the Commanding Officer, that he saw a canoe, with three of the enemy, cross over from the north to the south shore, within less than two miles of the fort; whereupon a detachment of one Lieutenant, an Ensign, and fifty men were ordered out to scour the country as far as Saw-mill creek: the greatest number of the privates of this detachment were volunteers, and the three Cadets accompanied them: after they had reached the orchards, the two Officers subdivided their command, took different routes, and returned without seeing any thing, or making the least discovery; it is supposed the Serjeant might be mistaken in his intelligence, as there are frequently pieces of large timber seen floating up and down the river. Here follows an abstract of this day's Orders:——"A court of inquiry to sit this day, "at eleven o'clock, in order to take an inventory of the late "Captain Pigou's[1] effects, &c. As the honourable Captain "Maitland,[2] and the rest of the Officers of the party, have "acquainted the Lieutenant-Colonel, that the men behaved "extremely well yesterday on being attacked by the enemy, "he takes this opportunity of returning them his thanks, and "makes no doubt but they will always behave with bravery "on every such occasion."

10th. One of our grenadiers, who deserted his party on the 8th instant, when attacked by the enemy, returned this afternoon, and was immediately confined.

11th. It froze a little last night; to-day the weather is mild, with sun-shine.

12th. A hard frost, and some snow fell; thick air, weather gloomy.

14th. Severe frost and snow; yesterday a court-martial sat on the grenadier, for absenting his command on the 8th instant,

[1] Captain Peter Pigou, Captain in the 43rd Regiment, March 19, 1749, and held the same rank at the time of his death.

[2] David Maitland, appointed Captain-Lieutenant, February 2, 1757, and Captain, March 21, 1758, in the 43rd Regiment.

when attacked by the enemy; he was found guilty of cowardice, and I think the particular punishment, ordered for him, evinces great discernment in the members of that court; their sentence ran thus:—[97] "It is the opinion of "the court, that the prisoner * is a notorious coward, and they "sentence him to ride the wooden horse half an hour every "day for six days, with a petticoat on him, a broom in his "hand, and a paper pinned on his back, bearing this inscrip-"tion: Such is the reward of my merit."—Which sentence was duly executed, to the inexpressible mirth of the whole garrison, and of the women in particular. 1757. December.

Hard frost to-day, and the snow is almost knee-deep; early this evening two of the enemy were seen on horseback within gun-shot of the fort; they made no delay, but shewed themselves, and rode off to the woods; in consequence whereof, orders were given to shut the barriers earlier this night than usual, and not to open the port, or let down the bridge, until after broad day-light in the morning, and even then, not until a patrole had reconnoitred the ditch and covered way round the fort. 15th.

We were alarmed this night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, by two shots, discharged by the guard at Hog Island blockhouse; the main-guard being turned out, and the Commanding Officer apprized, he sent the Officer to the ramparts, to try if he could make any discovery towards the blockhouse, who seeing another shot fired, and immediately two flashes, as if from other firelocks that had missed, and acquainting the Colonel therewith, he instantly put the garrison under arms, and ordered a twelve-pound shot to be discharged towards that quarter where the alarm was given; a reconnoitring party, of an Officer and thirty men, were detached to scour the environs 16th.

* This poor fellow on many subsequent occasions approved himself a remarkable gallant soldier, insomuch that I have heard his Captain (now a Field Officer) say, that, if he was ordered on any desperate service, he could wish all his party as well to be depended upon.—*Note by author.*

1757. December. of the fort, and to examine the guard at the blockhouse; the Serjeant of which reported, that he and the Corporal spied a light in a lanthorn, waving up and down [98] the shore, and two men, as they thought, creeping towards their post; that thereupon he had two firelocks discharged at the light, which was instantly extinguished, for he could not discern any thing afterwards; the detachment ranged all the adjacent ground, and in the space of two hours returned to the fort, without making any discovery.

17th. The alarm last night was occasioned by some fellows of the town going to rob some fish-ponds * (as they are called) within the precincts of the blockhouse.

18th. The weather is changed to a cold thaw, and threatens us with a fall of rain or snow; this afternoon a French and English advertisement was put into a tin canister, with two pens and an ink bottle; and the same was tied to a pole with a white flag, and erected upon Mayass-hill; the contents of it were to offer a ransom of two hundred dollars (fifty pounds currency) for Mr. Eason the Master-Carpenter, who was made prisoner on the 6th instant; the enemy are desired to give an answer in six days, conveyed in the same manner, with a red flag displayed instead of white: the Commanding Officer has passed his word for the punctual payment of the money, and the greatest security and honour to the person or persons who shall deliver the prisoner, and demand the ransom.

20th. The weather showery these two days, and extremely cold.

23d. It freezes hard every night, showery and raw by day, with sharp winds; here follows an extract of this day's orders:—"The Officer commanding the detachment of the Royal train

* The principal inhabitants of the town have parcelled out the shore or beach, and inclosed it, at low-water-mark, to a certain height, with stakes, and wickered hurdles, in such manner as to confine any fish that may come in with the tide of flood; and these are called fish-ponds; there is one that belongs to the Governor, or Commanding Officer for the time being.—*Note by author.*

"of artillery will be pleased to make a weekly return every "Monday morning to the Commanding Officer of the garrison : "the bar- [99] rier to be shut as soon as it is dark, and not to "be opened without a Corporal and a file of men ; the wicket "bridge of the main gate to be drawn up before the barrier "is opened, and to remain so until it is shut again ; the key of "the barrier to be kept till nine o'clock at night by the Officer "of the main-guard, who is then to send it to the Command- "ing Officer, and likewise to take particular care to observe the "orders in regard to sending patroles round the fort, before "the main gate is opened, &c. &c." The remainder of these orders relate to the posts allotted to the troops in case of an alarm, *viz.* one company to King George's bastion ; one company to the Duke of Cumberland's ; one to the Prince of Wales's ; one to Prince Edward's bastion ; and two companies (whereof the grenadiers are one) to be drawn up on the grand parade, as a reserve ; all the men of the different companies, who understand the artillery exercise, are directed to draw up at the same time before the quarters of the Officer of that corps, with their arms, and to observe his orders. 1757. December.

Frosty weather and immensely cold. 24th.

The weather changed early this morning, and this has been a day of constant rain. Though we have no church here, we have nevertheless divine service and a sermon every Sunday, in a spacious apartment in the fort ; this High Festival was observed here, as is customary in the church of England ; and our Chaplain (who is most laudably diligent in discharging the duties of his function) gave us an excellent discourse suitable to the day. 25th.

The garrison has been regularly served with spruce beer since our arrival here, which is to be continued ; the Pay-master of the 43d regiment assures me, that this article brings in a revenue of twenty pounds currency in the space of nine days, which is above 800l. *per annum ;* and this is exclusive of what is expended by the Officers.

1757. December. 31st. We have had the most whimsical weather for several days past, that ever was known in any climate; and the inhabitants say it is [100] right Nova Scotia weather; one day it will freeze hard, change towards night, and rain incessantly for five or six hours; this is succeeded by snow, and afterwards by frost; let what wind will blow, it rains, snows, and freezes alternately from every point: and we are not many hours certain of our weather.

1758. January. 1st. Soft weather and gloomy; at noon fell some rain; in the evening we were wrapped up in a thick fog.

2d. We had a great storm of snow to-day, which the wind laid in some places above four feet in depth, and, in general, two feet: the drifts were so thick, and the atmosphere so dark towards noon, that our centinels could not discover a sloop that came in, until she had laid her broad-side close to the quay; this continued till midnight, then cleared up with the wind at north, and froze very hard.

3d. It began to thaw about ten this morning, at one o'clock fell some rain, it continued dropping till night, and then it poured heavily.

4th. It blows hard to-day with frequent showers of hail and rain; at noon cleared up, froze hard, and exceeding cold with a high wind at N. W.

5th. A severe frost last night, this morning an agreeable sunshine, about noon a cold thaw with gloomy air, which continued.

6th. A smart frost this morning, and it was raw and cold until noon, then cleared up, and was mild and pleasant.

7th. A soft morning, came on heavy rain, and the weather open and warm; at night cleared away with a high wind, and it froze hard.

8th. Severe weather, hard frost, blows fresh with the wind at N. W.

9th. No alteration, except its falling little wind, with some

showers of sleet, and intermittent sun-shine; we had pleasant skaiting to-day, on some low ground, which was overflowed by the late falls of snow and rain; for these two days past, the cold has been incon- [101] ceivably severe, and surpasses any thing I ever felt in the Netherlands. 1758. January.

Cold and windy, with some rain, which freezes as it falls; at noon a storm of snow for three hours, then cleared up with a smart frost. 12th.

Late last night the weather changed to a heavy rain, and turned to a frost towards morning; to-day a pleasant sun-shine, though the wind blows cold and fresh: it froze hard in the evening and continued. 14th.

Hard frost and some showers of sleet, with a cold wind. 16th.

The snow fell last night to a great depth; it blows hard to-day, and freezes with great severity; notwithstanding the rigour of the season, *the Gens de Bois* are almost every day hunting and shooting on the opposite side of the river, even within the range of our guns; which sometimes provokes us to give them a shot. 17th.

The frost is now very intense indeed. 18th.

The severity of the air has a visible effect upon our candles, so as to prevent their burning with the same freedom, as in milder seasons; the rigour of the season drives the cattle from the woods to seek for fodder, yet they are so wild, that we cannot approach them; a Serjeant, Corporal, and fifteen men were detached this night in pursuit of them, but returned without any prize; an Officer was in readiness in case it had been necessary, to sally out with the guard at the Cape blockhouse, to reinforce the Serjeant. 24th.

It froze, thawed, snowed, rained, and froze again. 25th.

Soft dropping weather to-day, fell heavy rain at night. 26th.

Open weather, with rain; at noon a snow storm; it froze hard at night. 27th.

Most severe weather with an intense frost, and the snow flies in thick drifts; the ground is become so slippery that it 29th.

1758. January. is dangerous to stir out of doors : the troops, throughout this province, are obliged to have recourse to various expedients to prevent meeting with accidents by falling : some by wearing coarse stockings over [102] their shoes, with an additional sole or two, of thick frize or other woollen cloath ; some wear moggosans ; and others again use what are by us termed creepers*, which are an invention calculated for the hollow of the foot, that buckles on like a spur ; it is a small plate of iron an inch broad, with two ears that come up on both sides of the shoe between the ancle and instep, with a stud on each of them, for the leathers : from the two extremities are four stout points turned downward, to the length of two thirds of an inch, which, by the weight of the person who wears them, are indented in the ice ; this contrivance is actually necessary, and prevents many fatal accidents.

February. 1st. I think I may say with great truth, I never felt any thing equal to the rigour of this season ; one would be inclined to suspect, that a climate so much upon extremes should not be healthy ; however, the inhabitants here are remarkable for their longevity, and it is rare to hear of any person's dying of acute disorders ; the reader may observe, that we have been in some measure prepared by many almost insensible gradations (as in other northern climates) which usher in the intense and most severe cold. I am credibly informed, that there are not any settlements of the enemy nearer than sixteen or eighteen miles to our garrison, and yet these skulking wretches are so amazingly hardy, that they scarce pass one day without scouring the environs of this fortress, which they daringly make known to us by their repeated signals, especially upon the arrival, or sailing of a vessel, or of a detachment marching out : there is a sloop that came up to-day, who is bound to fort Cumberland with King's stores, &c. She has made many efforts to work up the bay, but, from the quantities of floating ice, was as often compelled to put back ; at length,

* Are called *des Grapins* by the French.—*Note by author.*

finding it impracticable to get there, she steered for the entrance of Annapolis, and came to an anchor in the bason [103] between Goat Island and the Scots Fort*; he soon after sent his boat a-shore for some wood and water, and, at their landing, two signals were discharged in the woods very near them, whereupon they instantly took to their boat, and returned to their ship: upon their report to the Master, he prudently took the advantage of the tide of flood, and brought his sloop up to the wharf. 1758. February.

If these rabble could have lain quiet, they might have way-laid the two men, manned the boat, and seized the vessel, which would have proved a noble prize; and it could have been accomplished without any danger, for there was only a cabbin-boy with the Master on board; the consequences of such a capture, which would have put them in possession of this navigation, must have been of the highest prejudice to his Majesty's garrison.

A Serjeant's party, with two guides, went out this day, in order to take off a dozen head of black cattle that appeared on Mayass-hill; they took the lower road to the orchards, with an intent to get round to the skirts of the wood behind them; but the cattle were soon alarmed, and, instead of turning that way to gain the cover, as was expected, they directed their course a-cross a small rivulet called Allen's river,[1] and got off to the westward; the men could with ease have shot some of them, but were restrained by the Serjeant, in hopes that a more favourable opportunity might soon offer to surprise and take the whole: the party returned to the fort without making 3d.

* So called from a settlement of North-British families who had resided there, but were unluckily routed from thence, some years ago, by a numerous party of French and Indians; they had no fort, except an inclosure of palisadoes, with loop-holes for musketry; and, not suspecting any danger, suffered themselves to be surprised.—*Note by author.*

[1] The river Lequille. This was first named Allain's creek, or river, after Louis Allain, father-in-law of Gautier, whose lands were confiscated and given to Easson.

1758. February. any discovery, and reported, that they never saw such plenty of hares and partridges as the orchards and adjoining thickets now abound with.

4th. [104] The weather is changed to a soft thaw, and blows fresh; towards the evening we had a fall of snow, with a smart frost; and it continued uncommonly cold the remainder of the night.

6th. A great number of black cattle appeared this evening on Mayass-hill, and this night three head of them strayed to the town and were taken.

7th. We had a great fall of snow late in the night, clear weather to-day with sun-shine, yet extremely cold; our Commanding Officer, accompanied by the Engineer, and escorted by a Serjeant and twelve rank and file, went to Mayass-hill, in order to reconnoitre some ground which it is proposed to fence off with palisadoes; a blockhouse is also to be erected there to awe the enemy,[1] and secure the inhabitants' cattle from their depredations; if this scheme should be executed, it will render the residence of the troops, &c. much more agreeable, as our limits will be thereby considerably enlarged.

8th. A hard frost, the atmosphere serene, and the sun comfortably warm. It has been expected that one hundred soldiers would be employed, (without a recompence being granted them for their labour, not to mention the risk of their lives) in order to go into the forests and cut down palisadoes, and other timbers, for the repairs of the fort and the construction of the new fences; but the Commanding Officer could not be prevailed on to consent to it, though he promised he would chearfully grant covering parties to protect any artificers or other workmen that should be employed on that or any other duty, for his Majesty's service. This being the case, the new works on the hill are likely to be postponed; and, if they were immediately to be put in execution, as the people of the town would benefit most by the extent of ground that would

[1] See plan of Annapolis River.

1758. February.

be inclosed, and which would be instantly claimed, it was unreasonable to expect that soldiers, who pay exorbitantly dear for shirts, shoes, and stockings, &c. &c. should be employed on such slaveries without any compensation. With respect to [105] the works of the fort, there are artificers and others reserved here in constant pay, and under proper directors, to keep them in repair. As I have already more than once observed, that the troops are obliged to pay extravagant prices for every European article they have occasion for, I think it will not be improper to particularise some of them; and, in order to set these matters in the clearest light, I propose to draw a parallel between the prices here and what I could have bought the same articles for in Ireland; I would say in Britain, if I were acquainted with them; but, for several years before I left Europe, the regiment was upon the Irish Establishment.

N.B. *The currency of a dollar in that kingdom is 4s. 6d. and 5s. in this province, as has been observed before.*

Articles.	Prices Currency of Ireland.	Currency and Prices. N. Scotia.
Ordinary coarse shirts . .	3s. 6d. to 3s. 8d. to 3s. 10d.	8s.
A better kind	4s. 10d. to 5s. 8d.	10s.
Soldiers' linnens per yard . .	1s. to 1s. 3d.	from 2s. 6d. to 3s.
Common woollen yarn stockings	11d. to 1s. 1d.	,, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 6d.
Ordinary worsted ditto . .	1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d.	,, 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.
Ordinary cheque linnens . .	from 10d. to 1s.	,, 2s. 2d. to 2s. 6d.

Besides the foregoing, they pay here 1s. 10d. per lb. roll-tobacco; and leaf from 10d. to 1s. Scots snuff from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per lb. Hard soap from 10d. to 1s. Lump sugar from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. Ordinary powder 10d. Common brown sugar 6d. Ordinary smoking pipes from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1d. each; and a better sort 1d.$\frac{1}{2}$. to 2d.$\frac{1}{2}$. each. Dutch pipes 6d. Threads, needles, pins, tapes, flannels, coarse woollen cloths, nails, bolts, locks, hasps, garden tools, with all manner of haberdashery and stationary wares, bear the same proportions.

1758. February. 10th. The weather changed last night to rain and snow: to-day it blows hard, with a severe frost; more snow fell towards evening.

11th. [106] A smart frost, clear weather, and sun-shine.—Twenty-four men are gone out to the woods to the right of Mayass-Hill, in order to cut fire-wood for the garrison: they have a covering-party of an Officer and thirty men, and the wood-cutters are obliged to take their arms and cartouch-boxes. This work is to be continued, whenever the weather will permit.

15th. Good skaiting-weather; inconceivably cold.

17th. Gloomy weather, fresh wind, and the cold much more severe than we have had it heretofore.

19th. A cold thaw these two days.

20th. A frost last night, gloomy air to-day, wet weather and mild.

21st. A gentle frost this morning after a great fall of rain; it cleared up, and proved a pleasant day.

22d. Serene weather: it froze inconceivably hard last night. Some dogs chaced a bullock out of the woods into the river from the north shore: a great smoke is discovered this evening between Goat Island[1] and the Scots Port[2]; we conclude the rabble are waiting to surprise a trader at anchor.

23d. We had a great fall of snow last night; cold raw weather to-day; in the evening and fore-part of the night another remarkable fall of snow.

24th. This evening four bullocks (which, with others, had been stolen from hence last summer) strayed so near to the fort, that a Corporal and four men surrounded them, and drove them into the covered way.

25th. *A good fire and indifferent fare are much more acceptable to us than a turtle-feast without fuel.* This day a sloop arrived from Boston, with provisions, &c. By a letter from Colonel

[1] Goat Island; see note, p. 86.

[2] Scots Fort, or Charles Fort; see note, p. 44.

Maskareen,[1] late Governor of this garrison, to a gentleman here, we are informed the Commander in Chief has stopped all European letters[2] at New-York that were brought by the packets. His Excellency the Earl of Loudoun has transmitted an order to the several corps in North America, that, when an Officer dies, (of any rank whatsoever) he may be bu- [107] ried with as little expence as possible, and no scarfs to be allowed to any person, except to the Clergyman; moreover his Lordship orders, that no Officer whatsoever, whether recruiting with his regiment or otherwise, do wear any other cloaths than their regimentals or frocks*. These orders were given out to put a stop to the extravagancies of many Officers, which they may unthinkingly commit, to the great prejudice, peradventure, of families, &c. in Europe. Lord Loudoun has also transmitted a proposal to the troops in this province, *that, if the Officers chuse, they may have money in lieu of provisions from the store-keepers, at the rate of four-pence per ration.* The Commanding Officer has assured his Lordship, in the name of the Officers of the 43d regiment, *that we cannot subsist without the King's provisions, and therefore preferred taking them in kind to any sum of money whatsoever.* Certainly, if we could subsist without them, it would be absurd to put the Government to an expence that is not incurred by the troops in Europe; but money alone will not support an army in the dreary uninhabited forests of America, any more than it will in the inhospitable sandy deserts of

1758. February.

[1] Paul Mascarene was a native of the south of France, born in the year 1684. His father was a Huguenot. At the age of twelve he went to Geneva, where he was educated. He was naturalized a British subject in 1706, and in 1708 obtained a commission in the British army. In 1710 he was ordered to America and took part in the capture of Port Royal. He became a member of the Council of Nova Scotia, and later was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis, and administrator of the Government. He rose to the rank of Major-General in the army in 1758, and died at Boston in 1760.

[2] See note on postal arrangements, p. 171.

* This is a revival of an old standing order, published by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to the army in Flanders.—*Note by author.*

1758. February. Arabia. Before the arrival of this last sloop from Boston, we were reduced to great straits in our manner of living, having nothing to eat, except the store provisions, and sometimes a little thin starved beef, much inferior to some that I have frequently seen condemned and burnt publicly in well-regulated market-towns in Europe. In the times of the greatest plenty, which I have ever seen since I came into the country, a soop made of the King's pease, with a piece of pork in it, composed the principal dish in our bill of fare; and, indeed, we should have made a very indifferent repast without it. Our constant drink, for these two months past, has been spruce beer or bad cyder, qualified with as bad rum: wine we have almost forgot the flavour [108] of; roots, or any kind of vegetables, milk and eggs, we are intire strangers to.

March. 1st. This being the anniversary of St. David, the same was observed by the Officers of this garrison, and the colours were hoisted: had we been blessed with Leeks *, we should greedily have converted them to a better use than mounting them in our hats.

This season is now inconceivably rigorous; but the sun is so powerful, that the frost and snow begin visibly to wear away. The wood-cutters and covering-party this day discovered, on the snow, the tracks of Rackets or Snow-shoes, not far from their advanced centries; and, as they led from the shore to the woods, we conjecture the enemy came over in canoes on seeing our repeated fires there, either to recon-

* As I apprehend there are many people, as well ancient Britons or others, who are unacquainted with the true reason of their wearing leeks on this day, it will not, I presume, be unacceptable to my readers to be informed whence this custom is derived: "On St. David's day, in the year of our Lord 640, the "Welsh, under their famous King Cadwallader, obtained a signal victory over "the Saxons; and, the ground on which they fought bearing immense quantities "of leeks, they, in order to distinguish themselves, mounted this vegetable "in their hats, and it has been ever since esteemed as a badge of honour." —*Note by author.*

noitre what we are about, or, perhaps, with an intent to lay a snare for our wood-fellers. 1758. March.

The weather gloomy, and the air milder than for several days past: the working and covering parties were out to-day, and, pursuant to the Colonel's orders, we beat the ground about half a mile round the place of cutting, and posted our centinels at a greater distance than usual, to prevent a surprise: as it was expected we should be attacked, the Main and Cape blockhouse guards were ordered to be in readiness to sustain us, if it had been necessary.—In the evening, when we were returning, the weather changed: we had a great fall of sleet, with a general thaw. 2d.

A hard frost with a cold blustering wind at north-west, and heavy drifts of sleet. 3d.

[109] Fine weather to-day, with a thaw, though it froze smartly last night. 5th.

The rigour of the season is not to be expressed; it surpasses every thing we have yet met with for its severity. 8th.

Gloomy open weather to-day, and threatens rain. 9th.

Mild air, the atmosphere clear, with sun-shine. 10th.

Intense frost again, and the wind very cold; in the evening it thawed, and a great quantity of snow fell, which continued in drifts for the remainder of the night. 11th.

A gentle frost last night; about noon it changed to rain, and continued with great violence. 14th.

Very rough weather with some snow, and exceeding cold; wind north-west. 15th.

Dry blowing weather, with intense frost: it has been much colder these two days than we have had it this winter. 16th.

This being the anniversary of St. Patrick,[1] the same was 17th.

[1] The patron saints seem to have been duly honoured in the new world. The author records a celebration on St. George's Day, St. David's Day, St. Andrew's Day, and St. Patrick's Day. The King's birthday and Coronation Day were also fittingly observed.

1758. March. observed by all the garrison with great chearfulness and good humour; the colours were hoisted, and the soldiers, natives of Ireland, had one shilling each advanced to them, the British taking the guards for them, as is alternately practised on these festivals.

19th. Late last night it began to thaw, and this day we have the most uncommon weather imaginable; there is little or no wind, and a small rain falls, which freezes as fast as it comes down: the ground is now so crusted over, that it is very dangerous to stir out of doors. In the evening we were relieved from this slippery situation, by several showers of sleet, followed by snow.

20th. Frost and snow. A little before the wooding-party marched out this morning, some of the enemy came to Mayass-hill with a Flag of Truce; but, the weather being hazy, and their flag rather small and ill-coloured, the centinels did not immediately discern them, which they perceiving, instantly fired two shots. The Fort-Major then pushed out at the head of the wooding-party with a napkin fixed to a pole, [110] and demanded their business. They seemed shy, and unwilling to trust us; but the Major, advancing singly, took off his hat, and waved it towards them, to advance in like manner into the plain; (for as yet they kept among stumps of trees and uneven ground, where our people have been daily wood-cutting;) upon which one of them came forward, and acquainted the Major, that they had not discovered our flag with the canister (which was hung out on the 18th of December last) until yesterday; that the written paper was so defaced, it was not altogether legible; therefore desired to know what it had contained: on being told it was a proposal of two hundred dollars for the ransom of Mr. Eason the Master-carpenter*, whom they made prisoner on the 6th of

* This poor man was not released until the reduction of Quebec, in September 1759: I met him there in the street the day after we took possession of that capital; he was in good health, though reduced very low by bad

December, he answered, that he supposed there could be no objection; and requested, that the form and terms should be again reduced to writing. This, he was told, should be complied with; and, upon being ordered to wait for it, and the Major's turning from him, he humbly intreated in the name of his party, that they might be supplied with some *l'eau de vie*, (meaning brandy or rum) and some tobacco, which were accordingly promised. In an hour's time the paper was sent to them, with a basket containing a few pipes, some tobacco, one gallon of rum, some cold meat and biscuit; for all which he seemed very thankful, yet nevertheless answered evasively to the various questions that were put to him. Being asked how soon we might expect an answer, he replied, that their Commandant lived a great way from hence, therefore he could not pretend to say, when an answer would be returned. We inquired the meaning of the tracks of rackets, which were discovered some days ago near the wooding-place: and [111] he gave us to understand, that, seeing constant fires there, three or four of their people came down, *merely to gratify curiosity*, and to see what we had been doing. Those, whom I saw, were a raw, hardy, active, yet mean set of fellows, and as meanly cloathed: one of them had a firelock and cartouch-box of the 43d regiment, and another had a band and bowling to his hat of our soldiers' lace. They were asked, how they could presume to come before us with our spoils about them? To which, notwithstanding our hospitality, *they gave no answer than an impertinent shrug.* We desired to be informed, what they did with all our prisoners, as well the wounded men, as the others that were not wounded. To this they replied—'Gentlemen, we have a great way to go, and beg we may be permitted to depart; as to such of your people, who have fallen into our hands, we took as 1758. March.

living; he assured me he never heard a syllable of the proposal for a ransom until that place had surrendered, when he was informed of it by some of our Officers.—*Note by author.*

1758. March. much care of them as we have done of ourselves.' So saying, they once more thanked us for our civility, bid us adieu, and retired to the woods. —— About noon the weather changed to rain and snow alternately, which obliged the detachment to return to the garrison: it continued showery until the evening; then the wind sprang up at north-north-west, blew fresh, and froze hard.

22d. A severe hard frost these two days, with a high wind at N. W.

23d. Gloomy weather; some snow fell this morning, which lulled the wind and softened the air; it was mild for the remainder of the day.

25th. A smart frost to-day, the atmosphere clear with sun-shine, yet the air is cold.

26th. Mild weather, though rather inclining to frost than otherwise; some dogs and cattle appeared this morning at the skirts of the wood, beyond Mayass-Hill: being Easter-day, this solemn festival was duly observed.

27th. The weather serene and pleasant this day, with a warm sun.

High wind and heavy rain all this day.

29th. [112] It froze hard last night; to-day it blows fresh and cold, with flying showers of sleet; it cleared up and was more moderate in the afternoon. Two sail of ships were discovered to cross the bason blow[1] and run up Moose[2] and Bear rivers,[3] which being unusual for British ships, a boat, that had lately been fitted up, was sent down for intelligence, and to watch their motions.

30th. The boat returned, and brought up the Masters of the two vessels; they came from fort Cumberland, and are bound

[1] "below": see Errata.

[2] This was first called river Liesse.

[3] River Hébert, named after Louis Hébert, whose house was on the banks of the river. Hébert went to Port Royal in 1606, and acted as lieutenant to Biencourt in 1613. Champlain, the first to name this river, called it St. Antoine.

to Boston ; by them we are informed there is an embargo laid on all the ports of New-England, New-York, Halifax, &c. &c. we hear of great preparations for opening the campaign, that there are more troops expected from Europe, and that the province of Massachuset are raising a large body of provincials to co-operate with the regulars ; the Masters of these sloops say, that all is well at Chegnecto, and also at fort Edward [1] and fort Sackville, where they have lately been : these men farther add, that it was reported at Boston, *that the particular department of the New-England troops, this campaign, would be the reduction of Canada ;* this was matter of great mirth to us, and an Officer, who was present, humorously replied, *And let the regulars remain in the different forts and garrisons, to hew wood and dig sand, &c. then the French will be finely humbled in America.* 1758. March.

Some snow fell last night, yet the weather to-day is mild and pleasant ; this morning a large smoke was discovered in the woods near the orchards, and, according to custom, the colours were instantly hoisted, whereupon we could perceive the fire abated, and was, in a few minutes, gradually extinguished. 31st.

The weather is exceeding cold, with flying showers of sleet and snow ; this morning two shots were discharged on Mayass-Hill, and a flag of truce was hoisted, upon which the Fort-Major, with an Officer and fifty men, marched out under a white flag : the enemy did not seem so shy as they were on the 20th ult. we demanded of them their errand, and they answered, *They came to* [113] *know whether we would exchange prisoners with them ?* They offered four men for the two Indians, *viz.* Clare and Anselm Thomas, (as mentioned under the 17th of October last ;) the persons who appeared to us were the father and another brother of the two captives, with a Frenchman ; but we could discern there were others in the skirts of the woods, at a distance behind them : the old Sachem April. 1st.

[1] Windsor, N.S.

1758. April. was told, that we had heard he was dead, being shot by an accidental party of our people, who were ignorant of the particulars of his own and his family's case and resolutions, &c. to which he replied, there was sufficient cause for such a rumour, but that he himself was most culpable. Upon this we interrogated him, and related to him what we had heard of the matter; to which he answered—'It was not so, for he was actually, at that time, with an English party; that he grew diffident of their sincerity, and, being suddenly seized with a panic, he slipped behind them, with an intent to make his escape; that the English turned about and fired at him, which he avoided by falling prostrate on the ground, and from thence he supposed our people might have thought he had been killed.'—This Chief appeared to be an honest, chearful, well-looking old man, much resembling his daughter, though of a swarthier complexion:—he was meanly dressed, and not at all like an Indian; his son, who had also a good open countenance, was habited quite in character, with a turban on his head, adorned with an extravagant number of beads and feathers of various colours, which these creatures much affect, and are very fond of: they were told, that Clare * and Anselm * were both well at Halifax; upon this they took leave of us, retired to the woods, and made fires for themselves; our party returned to [114] the fort. An hour had scarce elapsed, when the enemy appeared a second time on the hill, waving their flag, which obliged the Fort-Major and his party once more to march out; being desired to answer precisely what business they came upon, the Frenchman (or rather Canadian, which, by the multiplicity of buttons on his coat, and his leathern cue to his hair, he seemed to be) replied —'to see if you will barter with us for our furs, and give us

* We have been since informed, that the Squaw and her brother died at Halifax of the small-pox, a disorder very fatal to the Indians, who have so great a dread of it, as to be intirely disheartened upon the first symptoms, and cannot be prevailed on to use any means for their recovery. We had no knowledge of their deaths on the first of April.—*Note by author.*

tobacco and *L'eau de Vie* in exchange.' The Major told him we would neither traffic nor carry on any correspondence with his Majesty's enemies. We conversed near an hour with them, and the Indians expressed an inclination to come into the fort, and, we believe, would have been prevailed on, were it not for the great influence their French companion seemed to have over them: we inquired if this party did not belong to the same people who came to us on the 20th ult. to treat for Mr. Eason? The Frenchman first pretended ignorance of that business, tho' he afterwards contradicted himself, and was obliged to confess it; being asked by a gentleman of Annapolis what was become of *that monster of cruelty Le Loutre the Priest*, saying, 'he has more sins to answer for, than all the Acadians put together,' the other replied—'*they* had a different opinion of him, and hoped he was safe and well in France*:' Colonel James invited these people to come into the fort [115] and surrender, assuring them of generous treatment, adding, 'we have all kinds of provisions and rum, and you shall have the same allowance with his Majesty's troops:' Monsieur politely thanked him, said they were in want of provisions, and that he would impart our kind offer to the 1758. April.

* I saw Monsieur Le Loutre,[1] a state prisoner at Elizabeth-castle in the island of Jersey, in the year 1762, where he was allowed one shilling *per* day by the Government: but this was short of what he expended at the suttling-houes [*sic*] in that garrison, for he lived very luxuriously; to support which, he regularly drew upon London for twelve pounds sterling *per* month, and his bills were duly honoured; he left a most remarkable character behind him in Nova Scotia for inhumanity, insomuch that a centinel who had been placed over him (and had formerly the misfortune, when in a regiment stationed in that country, of being his prisoner, and was miraculously preserved from being scalped alive, to which cruel fate be had been doomed by this same Priest, who marked him with a knife round the forehead and pole, in order to strip off the intire scalp) and, recollecting his face, unfixed his bayonet, with an intent, as he undauntedly confessed, to put him to death, had he not been, with the greatest difficulty, prevented from executing what he called *a just vengeance* on him. This soldier's resentment was so great, and he appearing before the Commander in Chief of the island so determined, that it was thought necessary to remove him to England, and exchange him into another corps.—*Note by author.*

[1] A note on Abbé Le Loutre will be found on p. 200.

1758. April. rest of his friends. Upon their departing, the Fort-Major, by order, told the Frenchman, 'that at present he and his companions were quite safe, for that we should always pay due honour to a flag of truce; but, for the future, they must not presume to appear on trifling errands, except they should come determined to surrender, or to bring Mr. Eason the Master-Carpenter to be ransomed, otherwise they might be assured we should treat them as enemies;' the Major farther added, 'that we took very ill their making fires in the woods within the precincts of our garrison, and that it was highly impertinent:' to which the fellow replied, 'it was the savages,'—and pertly subjoined this old trite evasion, 'we cannot be accountable for the conduct or actions of the Indians.'

2d. This morning, between eight and nine o'clock, two shots were fired on the opposite side of the river, which attracting the attention of our centinels, they discovered a large party marching from the woods towards the shore; the Officers having dark-coloured cloaks, and the soldiers brown watch-coats on them, at the same time the weather being remarkably hazy, so that they could not easily be distinguished, by the naked eye, from the enemy; we were a little alarmed, and the artillery Officer received orders to discharge all the guns he could bring to bear on them, with grape-shot; but the Commanding Officer, fortunately coming out with a perspective, discovered them to be an English party, and instantly, [116] as his orders were ready to be executed, he countermanded them; the Adjutant was immediately sent over, and soon returned with a Captain of the 43d regiment, who, with a Lieutenant, Ensign, and sixty rank and file, had been detached from fort Edward, in order to escort our Engineer thither, on his way to Halifax, whence he is to proceed with the army to Louisbourg*; this command left their garrison

* Could they not wait for the relief of the 28th regiment, which is shortly to take place, in order to join the army upon the same expedition? That

on the morning of the 28th ult, and the Officers compute that they have marched about one hundred and twenty miles ; they met with several habitations of the enemy, and about ten or a dozen straggling Frenchmen, in different parts of the country, who, on first discovering our people, and so unexpectedly from that side of the province, ran off, as if terrified, and hid themselves : for, such a visit being (I am told) almost unprecedented, they were not prepared, especially as they could not be certain but there might be other detachments out, either before, the better to secure the defilés, and thereby reinforce the party ; or else behind, in order to execute some secret service, perhaps to their utter extirpation from the country. The Acadians did not appear armed, and the Captain, being ordered to make the best of his way to this garrison, without any unnecessary delays, took no notice of them, especially as they did not presume to molest him. In point of weather, our visitors were very fortunate ; for, before the last of them could be ferried over the river, there came on the most violent storm of snow that ever I saw, which blew about in such clouds, that the oldest people here express the greatest surprise at it : before night it was so deep as to obscure our windows, and then our soldiers were all turned out with shovels and lights, in order to make communications throughout the fort, and to clear the batteries, centry-boxes, and ramparts ; though every [117] man off duty was employed, this was a work of some hours, and, had it been neglected, we should all have been barricadoed in our houses before morning.—We had the satisfaction to receive many European letters by this detachment, being the first since we sailed from Ireland : we learn that General Abercromby is appointed Commander in Chief, and is to conduct an army that is to act by the lakes ;——that Major-General Amherst

1758. April.

corps being to be relieved by a detachment from this garrison and fort Edward, consequently the transports must put in here, before they can proceed to fort Cumberland.—*Note by author.*

1758. April. and Admiral Boscawen[1] are to command an expedition against Louisbourg, and that the Colonels Lawrence, Wolfe, Monckton, and Whitmore, are appointed Brigadiers upon this service; all the Lieutenant-Colonels of regulars, serving in North America, are promoted to Colonels, in order to give them the rank of the Colonels of militia, or provincial regiments: we are farther assured, that one French ship of war, and several transports with troops and stores that were bound to Louisbourg, have been intercepted by Admiral Coates;[2] that Sir Charles Hardy is arrived at Halifax, and Commodore Durell[3]

[1] Edward Boscawen, third son of Hugh, first Viscount Falmouth, was born on August 19, 1711. In 1726 he was appointed to the *Superbe*, and in 1732 was promoted to the *Hector* and later to the *Namur*. During the year 1738 he was in command of the *Shoreham*, 20 guns, and served with this ship in the West Indies in 1739. In 1740 he did good service in Vernon's command, and in 1741 took part in the attack against Cartagena, particularly distinguishing himself on land by surprising and destroying a battery during the night. In 1744 Boscawen was in command of the *Royal Sovereign*, and in 1746 he received the command of his old ship, the *Namur*. In the following year he was given supreme command in the East Indies, and was named one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in 1751. He attained the rank of Vice-Admiral in 1755, and was given command of the squadron ordered for North America. As Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth he signed the order for Byng's execution in 1757. In 1758 he was created Admiral of the Blue and given command of the fleet for the siege of Louisbourg. In 1759 he was appointed to the Mediterranean station, and destroyed a French squadron in Lagos Bay. He died January 10, 1761.

[2] Thomas Coates (or Cotes) was appointed captain of the *York* in May 1740, and in November of the same year joined the fleet under Boscawen, and was present at the attack on Cartagena. In 1748, as commodore of a squadron sent to reinforce Admiral Hawke, he cut off several ships of a Spanish convoy in a brilliant action. In June, 1756, he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the White, and towards the end of the year was chosen by Pitt as Commander-in-Chief of the Jamaica station. He was made Vice-Admiral of the Blue in 1758, Vice-Admiral of the White in 1759, and Vice-Admiral of the Red in 1762. He was elected member of Parliament in 1761, and died in October 1767.

[3] Philip Durell received his commission as captain in the Royal Navy, February 6, 1742. In 1743 he commanded the *Eltham*, of 40 guns, in the attack on Porto Cavallo, Venezuela; in 1744 he served on the Home station, and in the Leeward Islands; and in April, 1745, was sent to Cape Breton. In 1747 he commanded successively the *Chester* and the *Gloucester*, each of 50 guns. In 1755 he had charge of the *Terrible*, 74 guns, and in 1756 commanded

ADMIRAL EDWARD BOSCAWEN

Engraved by J. M'Ardell from the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

at New-York; moreover that Admiral Boscawen was daily expected at Chebucto with the following fleet, on board of which are several regiments from Britain and Ireland. The gentleman who has transmitted this list from Halifax says, that the ships he has marked thus * are now in that harbour, and are going off directly to Louisbourg under Sir Charles Hardy, *viz.* 1758. April.

[1] The Namure	* The Orford	The York
Royal William	Devonshire	* Defiance
Princes Amelia	Lancaster	* Kingston
Invincible	Somerset	Nottingham
Burford	Bedford	Prince of Orange
* Northumberland	* Captain	Centurion
* Terrible	Pr. Frederic	* Sutherland.

This account adds, that four other capital ships were arrived at New-York, which would join the rest in a little time.

[118] Frigates.—Diana, Nightingale, and * Boreas.

Nineteen other frigates, sloops, bombs, &c. are expected to arrive with the Admiral.

It is said the Earl of Loudoun is gone back to England, and that Major-Generals Lord Charles Hay and Hopson, with Colonel Webb, will return by the next opportunity.

The same weather as yesterday, with a high wind; the drifts are so thick and heavy, as to exceed all description, and 3d.

the *Trident*, 64 guns, in Byng's unlucky expedition to Minorca. Early in 1758 he was sent to Halifax in the *Princess Amelia*, 80 guns. On the reduction of Louisbourg this year he was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and in February, 1759, became Rear-Admiral of the Red. Preparatory to the expedition against Quebec, he instituted a blockade of the St. Lawrence in the spring of 1759, but not soon enough to prevent some French ships arriving in Canada. In 1762 he became Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and in 1766 succeeded Lord Colville in command of the North America station at Halifax. He died shortly after his arrival, and was buried in St. Paul's Church, Halifax.

[1] Captain Bell, A.D.C. to General Wolfe, gives in his *Journal*, under date of June 8, 1758, the names of the commanders, with the number of guns, as follows:

1758. April. still the air is inconceivably cold. All the men off duty are employed to scour the fosse round the fort and covered way, and to clear the snow from the inside of our fortress ; an escort is to proceed from hence to the head of this river with the detachment from fort Edward, at their return ; this is by General Hopson's orders. In the evening we had some showers of sleet and hail, with a severe frost ; it freezes hard at one hour, and the next it rains, then snows, and rains alternately, which is succeeded by sleet and hail, and again it clears up, and turns to a frost.

5th. Cold and wet these two days, with some light showers of

"Ships.	Comdrs.	Guns.
Namur	Adm. Boscawen, Buckle, S. Cha. Hardy	90
Royal William	Evans, C'd're Durell	84
Pr. Amelia	Bray	80
Orford	Spry	70
Sommersett	Hughes	70
Vanguard	Swanton	66
Bedford	Fowke	70
Lancaster	Edgecombe	66
Devonshire	Gordon	66
Pembroke	Simcoe	60
Northumberland	Ld. Colville	70
Pr. of Orange	Fergusson	50
Sutherland	Rous	50
Dublin	Rodney	74
Captain	Amherst	66
Burford	Gambier	70
Pce. Frederick	Mann	66
Terrible	Collins	68
Shannon	Medowes	30
Trent	Lindsay	30
Boreas	Boyle	30
Scarborough	Routh	24
Kennington	Jacobs	24
Diana	Schomberg	36
Nightingale	Campbell	24
Hind	Bond	24
Juno	Vaughan	30
Gramont Sloop	Stott	18
Hunter Sloop	Laforey	14
Aetna Firesh	Balfour	8
Lightning do.	Goostrey	8."

snow ; the fickleness of the weather, in this climate, is beyond all conception. 1758. April.

It froze hard last night ; to-day it is clear and pleasant, with a gratefully warm sun : an old bark, or flat, which has lain here for years, like a wreck on the shore, has been repaired for the service of the garrison, and this morning the detachment from fort Edward crossed the river on their return ; they were accompanied by the Engineer, and an escort of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, besides Serjeants, Drummers, and eighty rank and file ; they took five days' provisions with them, and three horses to carry them, which is a great ease to our poor soldiers ; the escort is to convoy the others to the head of this river, and then to return. 6th.

[119] A command from the second battalion of the Royal Americans, who are at Halifax, will meet the Engineer at fort Edward, and conduct him thither.

As soon as these detachments had crossed the river, a party of two Subalterns and fifty men were ordered out on this side, to proceed as far as they could, so as to be able to return to the fort, by clear day-light in the afternoon : the Officer who commanded was ordered to light several distinct fires, in different parts of the country, to amuse the enemy, and draw their attention from the detachments on the north side : moreover, if we should meet a party of the enemy under a flag of truce, and could perceive that Eason was not among them, we were to convince them effectually, that we would not be amused or imposed on by their trifling artifices. At our setting out, the Serjeant of the Cape blockhouse[1] sent to acquaint the Colonel, that he had seen a fire, late last night, in the orchards, to the left of Mayass-Hill ; but this was a mistake, for we scoured all these grounds and the adjoining thickets, and did not discover the slightest vestige of man or beast, in this whole day's tour ; at the high ground on the

[1] At Mayass Hill, to the south-east of the fort.

1758. April. south side of Saw-mill creek, we left a Serjeant and twelve men, with orders to make a great fire: from thence we proceeded with the remainder to Barnaby's Mills, but avoided the defilé, by keeping away to the right; there we found the country almost open, except at particular places, where a thicket of spruce-trees and bushes was left standing. About three miles above the mills we made our first fire, as there was a kind of opening to the north side of the river; this is about fifteen miles from Annapolis. In our return we took possession of the copse, on the eminence that commands the pass at Barnaby's Mills,[1] where we found some logs of timber, laid in such manner as to serve for a breast-work, which covered the road and fording-places of the river; as we had not any thing to apprehend here (for we had every advantage of situation) we pulled down the enemy's parapet works, and made a noble fire of them, by the assistance of some [120] smaller wood; and between this place and our garrison we made four other fires, and arrived in the evening about six o'clock, not a little fatigued, for the snow was very deep and heavy.

A soldier has been missing these four days past, and as we cannot get any tidings of him, we apprehend he has either drowned himself, or deserted to the enemy.

17th. This morning Mr. Thompson, the Master of the Eagle schooner, of Boston, arrived here in his boat with his crew: he was coming down the bay from fort Cumberland, bound to fort Edward with liquors and provisions; and on the 2d inst. in the great storm we had here, his vessel was drove on shore about five leagues to the westward of La Haute isle,[2] where she stuck so fast that she could not be got off; finding all their efforts insufficient, they put a-shore in their boat, and marched a considerable distance a-cross the country, in hopes

[1] Probably Prée Ronde.

[2] L'Ile Haute: Hare Island in the Bay of Fundy, eight miles south-west of Chignecto.

to reach this garrison ; but, coming upon the tracks of mog- 1758. April.
gosans, and some snow-shoes, they thought it would not be safe to proceed farther, and therefore resolved to return to their boat and tide it here ; Mr. Thompson reports, that, about four leagues, on this side the place where his schooner lay, he saw six of the enemy on the shore, who, on discovering the boat, fired several signal shots up in the air, and he is apprehensive lest his vessel may have fallen into their hands ; his cargo consisted of one hundred and fifty barrels of beef and pork, fifty casks of flour, and several casks of rum, wine, and cyder, besides many articles of value, for the Officers at fort Edward. This unhappy man farther informs us, that on the 29th of March, between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, a party of Frenchmen, about forty in number, came down and attacked his, and another schooner, and a sloop, as they lay at anchor in the creek, at fort Cumberland ; that they boarded them, and charged the sailors, at their peril, to make no alarm, assuring them they should have good quarters ; however, the New-England men, *feeling bold* (according to their own phrase) and not caring to trust them, took to their arms, and engaged them [121] (though not a fourth of the enemy's numbers) and, the garrison being alarmed, a detachment immediately sallied out, which the French perceiving, retired to their canoes and got clear off, before our people could come up with them : in this skirmish, the Master of one of the vessels, with two sailors, were killed on the spot, and one was slightly wounded : the enemy left none behind them, but in the morning after, by the quantity of blood that was found between the creek and the place where their canoes lay, it appears that some of them were wounded. On the morning preceding this adventure, a large party of regulars and rangers were detached towards Chepordie-Hill,[1] where they made several women and children prisoners, and destroyed many houses ; as they did not discover any men in

[1] Shepody Hill.

1758. April. those parts, it is conjectured that it was the owners of these habitations who were engaged in the attempt upon the vessels at the creek. One of the French women, seeing her children seized by a ranger, knocked him down, which another resenting, grasped his tomahock (or small hatchet) and would instantly have laid her head open, had he not been prevented by a regular Officer: Thompson adds, that this detachment returned the day following to the fort with their captives and some cattle, and that what they could not bring off they killed and threw into the flames of the houses they had set fire to; that the Officers were in raptures with that part of the country where they had been, and are of opinion, by the appearance of the enemies settlements, that they are very numerous, and live more comfortably, than they could possibly be supposed to do, in their precarious situation.

9th. Our weather is now extremely severe; the escort, that marched with the detachment on the 6th instant, returned this morning, after an expedition of an hundred miles; they discovered many tracks thro' the country, and several of the enemy on the south side of the river: the Officers say, that they believe the rabble expected they would have crossed over above, and returned by Renne Forêt, which might be the reason of their being on the south side before [122] them; however, the Captain disappointed them, kept the north side of the river, and made a forced march, by which he brought all his party safe and well to their garrison. Two Officers are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to go by the next opportunity to the continent, on the recruiting service.

10th. The weather milder to-day, with some showers of rain.

11th. The Endeavour schooner, of Boston, arrived this day with ordnance stores: the Master informs us, that Major Rogers had been lately on a scouting party beyond fort Edward towards lake George; that they were met by a body of near seven hundred, mostly Indians, whom they attacked and twice routed; but the enemy, upon being pursued, finding our party so much inferior to themselves in number, rallied

and renewed the fight with such vigour, that our partisan[1] was at length obliged to retreat with the loss of near sixty men and Officers; Mr. Rogers's detachment consisted of one hundred and eighty fighting men, among whom were many volunteers, both Officers and Cadets from the regulars; and, before he ventured on the pursuit, the enemy lost near two hundred men, forty of whom he scalped on the spot; some of the regular Officers are prisoners.[2] 1758. April.

[1] Major Rogers.

[2] On March 10, 1758, Colonel Haviland, commanding at Fort Edward, south of Lake George, sent Major Rogers with 180 men to reconnoitre the French position at Carillon, or Ticonderoga. On the 13th, when near the French lines, they discovered a body of Indians marching on the ice of a rivulet, and laid an ambush for them. What followed is described by Rogers:

"We gave them the first fire, which killed above forty Indians; the rest retreated, and were pursued by about one half of our people. I now imagined the enemy totally defeated, and ordered Ensign M'Donald to head the flying remains of them, that none might escape; but we soon found our mistake, and that the party we had attacked were only their advanced guard, their main body coming up, consisting of 600 more, Canadians and Indians; upon which I ordered our people to retreat to their own grounds, which we gained at the expence of fifty men killed; the remainder I rallied, and drew up in pretty good order, where they fought with such intrepidity and bravery as obliged the enemy (tho' seven to one in number) to retreat a second time; but we not being in a condition to pursue them, they rallied again, and recovered their ground, and warmly pushed us in front and both wings, while the mountain defended our rear; but they were so warmly received that their flanking parties soon retreated to their main body with considerable loss. This threw the whole again into disorder, and they retreated a third time; but our number being now too far reduced to take advantage of their disorder, they rallied again, and made a fresh attack upon us. About this time we discovered 200 Indians going up the mountain on our right, as we supposed, to get possession of the rising ground, and attack our rear; to prevent which I sent Lieutenant Philips, with eighteen men, to gain the first possession, and beat them back; which he did: and being suspicious that the enemy would go round on our left, and take possession of the other part of the hill, I sent Lieutenant Crafton, with fifteen men, to prevent them there; and soon after desired two Gentlemen, who were volunteers in the party, with a few men, to go and support him, which they did with great bravery.

"The enemy pushed us so close in front, that the parties were not more than twenty yards asunder in general, and sometimes intermixed with each other. The fire continued almost constant for an hour and half from the beginning of the attack, in which time we lost eight officers, and more than 100 private men killed on the spot. We were at last obliged to break, and I with about twenty men ran up the hill to Philips and Crafton, where we stopped and fired on the

1758. April. 14th. Weather open and warm to-day, with sun-shine; a fire was discovered this morning in an old barn on the opposite side of the river, about three miles from hence; it was there our detachment lay, on the night of the 8th instant, after escorting the other to the head of the river on their march to fort Edward. An advertisement of a late date having appeared in some news-papers brought by the last vessel, ordering all the recruiting parties belonging to the regiments who are quartered in Nova Scotia to repair forthwith to their respective corps, the two Officers who were under orders to proceed from hence, by the next opportunity, upon that service, are in consequence thereof countermanded.

15th. Fine weather to-day with sun-shine, and was so suddenly warm that the odious insect, musketa, has made its appearance for the first [123] time, though, as yet, it cannot give us any great annoyance; a detachment embarked this afternoon, on board of the Endeavour schooner, and sailed in quest of the Eagle schooner, stranded the 2d instant off La Haute Isle; this command consisted of a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, three Serjeants, one Drummer, and sixty rank and file; several Officers went volunteers on this cruise, which, with the Eagle's crew, augmented the whole to eighty

Indians, who were eagerly pushing us, with numbers that we could not withstand. Lieutenant Philips being surrounded by 300 Indians, was at this time capitulating for himself and party, on the other part of the hill. He spoke to me, and said if the enemy would give them good quarters, he thought it best to surrender, otherwise that he would fight while he had one man left to fire a gun.

"I now thought it most prudent to retreat, and bring off with me as many of my party as I possibly could, which I immediately did; the Indians closely pursuing us at the same time, took several prisoners. We came to Lake George in the evening, where we found several wounded men, whom we took with us to the place where we had left our sleds, from whence I sent an express to Fort Edward, desiring Mr. Haviland to send a party to meet us, and assist in bringing in the wounded; with the remainder I tarried there the whole night, without fire or blankets, and in the morning we proceeded up the lake, and met with Captain Stark at Hoop Island, six miles north from Fort William-Henry, and encamped there that night; the next day being the 15th, in the evening, we arrived at Fort Edward."—*Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (London, 1765), pp. 85–88.

fighting men : they mounted in their vessel six swivels, four wall-pieces, and two cohorns (or Royals) and had a large quantity of ammunition, and one week's provisions. 1758. April.

Fine weather to-day, the air extremely sultry ; the sun has such power, that the snow begins to wear away, and the grass and weeds to shew their heads, so that we are now regaled with the root Dandelion *, whose leaves make a good salad, and are equal to endives ; or, if boiled, eat as well as spinage ; this may be supposed to be highly acceptable to men who have been strangers to every kind of vegetable for several months past. The enemy have got many fires about the old barn on the north side of the river (about three miles from hence ;) they began yesterday in the evening, and continued until two o'clock this morning, when, their fires slackening, they then renewed them, and they have continued burning ever since : we apprehend from hence, and some shouts that were heard by the guard at Hog Island block-house, that the Eagle schooner and her cargo have fallen into their hands, and that they are entertaining themselves with the excellent chear which they got on board. 16th.

Mild weather ; the wood-cutters and covering party went out to-day ; at noon they were compelled to return, by a violent storm coming on, both of wind and rain, with most formidable thunder and lightning ; the claps were so loud, that one would imagine the gunners were discharging all the ordnance round the fort. 17th.

[124] We had a dreadful storm all last night ; to-day it freezes hard, with drifts of snow, and is exceeding cold. This evening arrived the Phœnix sloop from New-York, with the King's stores and provisions for the garrison of fort Cumberland ; the Master put into the bason of this river ; on seeing bad weather and foul wind gathering, and having there discovered some fires and canoes on the north shore, he worked up to the wharf for greater safety. 18th.

* This is corrupted from the French words *Dent de Lion*, in English, Lion's-tooth ; when it flowers, it is not fit for use, being disagreeably bitter.—*Note by author.*

1758. April. 19th. A smart frost last night, and the weather gloomy to-day, with a severe wind.

20th. Fair weather, and the cold less rigorous; this afternoon the Endeavour schooner returned from her unsuccessful cruise, in search of the Eagle schooner, which, with her cargo (it is conjectured) has fallen into the enemy's hands, for they could not find her;[1] the Endeavour narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces against a cliff, on the south side of the bay, which, by the darkness of the morning, and the haziness of the weather, they did not discover, until the vessel's bowsprit struck against the rock, it was not however broke, though it was curved; this was early on the 18th, the wind blowing hard at north, with a mountainous sea. The poor New-England seamen, according to their custom, were going to prayers, and ready to resign themselves to providence; but our soldiers, by the example of their Officers, exerted themselves very spiritedly, and clawed her off; there was not any thing else remarkable in this expedition, and the detachment was immediately disembarked.

22d. Mild seasonable weather these two days, mornings and evenings raw and cold, with fogs. Yesterday, being in company with some of the inhabitants, I was told, that, when the French were settled in this town and neighbourhood, though the better sort of them generally behaved with tolerable decency, yet the poorer sort, being employed as servants and workmen, took frequent occasions (which however never passed unpunished) of being imperti- [125] nent, in displaying the fruits of the good education they had received; for, in driving a team of oxen, if an Officer, or other British subject, passed them in the street or road, they instantly called out to their cattle, by the names of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Cronmere* (meaning Cranmer) &c. and then laid most unmercifully on the poor beasts with their whips or clubs, as if they had in reality got these eminent men under their hands.

[1] On this day the English captured a French vessel, from Martinico, laden with molasses.

Showery, warm weather, with thunder and lightning, and the air thick and foggy ; a bear was this day chaced out of the woods by some dogs belonging to the enemy ; he took to the river, and, attempting to swim a-cross, was drowned ; the enemy fired three shots at him from their cover, but we could perceive their balls did not reach. 1758. April. 23d.

Dry gloomy weather ; the companies are out at exercise as often as the weather will permit ; this is the first day of our burning powder, and, as soon as the platoon firing began, the enemy from an eminence westward of Babynot's-Hill[1] (and Allen's river which runs between them) set up their war-shout, and continued it for some time ; this piece of insolence was committed within a mile of the fort. 25th.

Wet and dirty, disagreeable weather ; a white dog swam a-cross Allen's river, and deserted from the enemy to us ; we have given him the name of Tripon,[2] for his infidelity to his late masters ; at twelve o'clock this night, a sloop arrived from Boston ; the Master informs us, that seven others are following him, and four are gone to fort Edward to bring the detachment from thence, and carry them up the bay, to relieve the 28th regiment. 27th.

Seasonable weather ; some of the transport sloops are arrived, and the rest are hourly expected. 28th.

The remainder of the transports are arrived ; Mr. Proctor, the Agent, and Mr. Winslow, the Commissary, came passengers ; by [126] them we are informed, that one company will remain at fort Edward, and the other three, with the like number from hence, are to relieve the 28th regiment at fort Cumberland *, who are to proceed with the army on the expedition to Louisbourg ; that three companies are to remain here, and that the Major will be sent by the next 29th.

[1] See note 49 on map of Annapolis River.

[2] "Fripon": see Errata.

* See the note on Louisbourg, under the 2d instant, with regard to a detachment being sent a-cross the province for our late Engineer.—*Note by author.*

1758. April. opportunity to command this garrison. This intelligence is not only a great disappointment, but an unspeakable mortification to the 43d regiment, *thus doomed to an unsoldierlike and inactive banishment:* the cause of this hard fate, we are told, was in consequence of orders to the Commander in Chief from England, "that one intire regiment should garrison Anna-"polis Royal, and the other forts in this province;" and his Excellency made choice of the 43d for this service, on the sole account of their being the most complete as to numbers, and the youngest corps in Nova Scotia. This evening arrived from Halifax, but last from Boston, his Majesty's sloop Hawk, as convoy to the transports.

30th. Raw cloudy weather, with some rain; Mr. Commissary Winslow favoured me with the following distribution of the forces in North America, for the service of the year 1758.

[127]

The army intended to act on the side of the lakes, under Major-General Abercromby, Commander in Chief.		The army intended for the reduction of Louisbourg, under Major-General Amherst.[1]	
Regiments.	Numbers.	Regiments.	Numbers.
27th	647	1st	854
42d	1152	15th	763
44th	963	17th	660
46th	665	22d	910
55th	683	28th	627
1st battalion of the Royal American detachment	455	40th	655
Royal Artillery	...	45th	852
Officers of the whole	...	47th	856
Provincials	8000	48th	932
Savages under Sir William Johnston	...	58th	615
		Lawrence's 60th	814
		Monckton's 60th	925
		78th Highlanders	1084
		35th Detachment	565
		Royal Artillery	...
		Officers of the whole	...
		Rangers (five companies)	...
Total		Total	

[1] Jeffery Amherst was born in Kent, January 29, 1717. His father's neighbour, the Duke of Dorset, took him as a page, and got him an ensigncy

THE HON. ROBERT MONCKTON, MAJOR-GENERAL

Engraved by J. Mc Ardell from the painting by T. Hudson

1758. April.

Army intended against fort Du Quesne and the Ohio country, under Brigadier-General Forbes.		Troops to remain in Nova Scotia, under Brigadier-General Monckton.[1]	
Regiments.	Numbers.	Regiments.	Numbers.
A detachment of the 1st battalion of the 60th	454	Detachments under articles of capitulation	...
77th Highlanders	1010	43d regiment	690
Three additional companies	274	Other detachments from troops going to Louisbourg	...
Royal Artillery	...	Officers of the whole	...
Officers of the whole	...	A company of rangers	100
Provincial troops about	4000		
Total		[1] Total	

in the Guards in 1731. He served as A.D.C. on the staff of General Ligonier, commanding in Germany, at Roucoux, Dettingen, and Fontenoy, and on the Duke of Cumberland's staff at Laffeldt and Hastenbeck. In 1756 he became Colonel of the 15th Regiment. He attracted the attention of Pitt, by whom he was given the rank of Major-General and command of the expedition against Louisbourg which sailed from Portsmouth in May, 1758. As a reward for the success of this undertaking, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in North America. During the next two years he took personal command on the Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence frontiers, and received the capitulation of Canada at Montreal on September 8, 1760. He was then appointed Governor-General of British North America, and in 1761 received the thanks of Parliament and was made a Knight of the Bath. In 1763 he returned to England. In 1770 he became Governor of Guernsey, and in 1772 a Privy Councillor, Lieutenant-General, and acting Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. His steady support of the war against the American colonies increased his favour with the King. In 1776 he was created Lord Amherst, in 1778 he became a General, and in 1793 Commander-in-Chief. This last office he resigned in 1795 to the Duke of York, and in 1796 the King made him Field-Marshal. He died at Montreal, his seat in Kent, on August 3, 1797.

[1] Robert Monckton was born on June 24, 1726, second son of John Monckton of Cavil and Holyrod in Yorkshire, who was created Viscount Galway in 1727, and of Lady Elizabeth, daughter of John Manners, second Duke of Rutland. In 1741 Monckton received a commission in the 3rd Regiment of Guards, and in 1742 joined the army in Flanders. In 1743 he fought at Dettingen, and was appointed a Captain, June 24, 1744. He was present at Fontenoy in 1745, being one of the aides-de-camp to Lord Dunmore. On February 15, 1747, he became a Major, and on February 28, 1751, a Lieutenant-Colonel. On the death of his father he was elected M.P. for Pontefract, November, 1751. Sent to Nova Scotia in 1752, he was nominated a member of the Council at Halifax on August 28, 1753. He was appointed, August 21, 1754, Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis Royal. In 1755 he brought

1758. April. [128] Mr. Proctor the Agent has favoured me with the following list of the transports employed in relieving the 28th regiment, for the service against Louisbourg.

	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Value in Sterl.	When in Pay.	Day [*sic*] per Ton per Month.	Pilot per Month.	Platform.	Carboose.	Hhds. of Water.
Sloop	Endeavour	92 3/4	£220	Apr. 12	£9	£2 5	1	1 with 2 pots or boilers to each.	25
Ditto	Victory	84 1/2	220	14	...	...	...		24
Ditto	Prosperous	73	190	14	...	...	...		22
Ditto	Mermaid	85 1/2	180	14	...	...	...		25
Ditto	Elizabeth	76 1/2	160	13	...	...	...		25
Ditto	Merry Meeting	93 1/4	300	15	...	...	...		30
Ditto	Scarborough	95	280	17	...	...	...		30
Ditto	Endeavour	66 3/4	200	17	...	...	...		23
Ditto	Sea-flower	88 1/4	180	17	...	...	...		25
Ditto	Wilmot	69 1/4	200	19	...	...	...		20
Schooner	Dolphin	82 1/4	220	17	...	...	...		25
Ditto	Race-horse	111 3/4	300	15	...	...	...		36

from Boston to Nova Scotia about 1500 provincial troops and captured the French forts of Beauséjour and Gaspereau. He was then ordered by Governor Lawrence to expel all French settlers from Nova Scotia. In December, 1755, he became Lieutenant-Governor of the province. Appointed second in command of the Quebec expedition under Wolfe, 1759, he took an active part in the operations. He was present at the unsuccessful attack of Montmorency, July 31, and was wounded at the battle of the Plains, September 13. Made a Colonel, October 24, 1759, Monckton went to New York and was appointed to the command of the troops at Philadelphia. On February 20 he was given the rank of Major-General, and on March 20, 1761, was appointed Governor of New York and Commander-in-Chief of the province. In 1761 he was placed in command of the land force for the conquest of Martinique, while Rodney had the direction of the naval forces. They captured not only Martinique, but also Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. They both received the thanks of the House of Commons. Monckton returned to England, June 28, 1763. On June 14, 1765, when Sir Henry Moore succeeded him in New York, he was appointed Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed and Holy Island, and commissioned Lieutenant-General on April 30, 1770. In 1778 he became Governor of Portsmouth, and represented that town in Parliament from 1779 till his death on May 3, 1782.

[2] In Abercromby's letter to Pitt of April 28, 1758 (*Canadian Archives*, C.O. 5 : 50), the distribution of troops for the coming campaign is given, as below. The names of the officers actually in command of regiments at Louisbourg have been inserted from Captain Bell's *Journal*. It should be noted that the 1st and 2nd Highland Battalions, Montgomery's and Fraser's, are numbered the 62nd and 63rd Regiments in the *Army List* of 1758, but the 77th and 78th in that of 1759.

In consequence of the intended reduction of the forces of this garrison, the store-keeper (of provisions) balanced accounts with the Officers to the satisfaction of all parties. 1758. April.

Distribution of Troops for the Siege of Louisbourg—

Regiments.		Total of each Regiment, Officers included.
1st or Royal	[Foster]	989
15th Amherst's	[Murray]	996
17 Forbes's	[Morris]	775
22 Whitmore's	[Ld. Rollo]	1093
28th Bragg's	[Walsh]	766
40th Hopsons	[Handfield]	948
45 Warburton's	[Willmott]	930
47th Lascelles's	[Hale]	1029
48 Webbs	[Burton]	1072
58th Anstruthers	[How]	785
60th 2d Battr Monckton's	[Prevost]	1094
60th 3d Do. Lawrence's	[Robinson]	1083
63rd Fraser's	[Frazer]	1144
Do. 3 Additional Comps		317
Royal Artlry officers included		330
35th Detachment	[Fletcher]	864
	Total	14,215

Rangers 600
A company of Carpenters consisting of 90

Distribution of Troops for the Defence of Nova Scotia—

Regiments.	Total of each Regiment, Officers included.
35th Otways Detachmt	215
43d Kennedy's	774
Total	989

Distribution of Troops to penetrate into Canada—

Regiments.	Total of each Regiment, Officers included.
27th Blakeney's	731
42 Lord John Murrays	1086
44th Abercrombie's	1069
46th Thomas Murray's	749
55th Lord Howes	768
60th—1st Battr Detachment	621
60th—4th Do. Prevosts	1057
Artillery, Officers included	189
Additional Comps 42 Regt.	235
Remainder not arrived	
New York Indep. Companies	379
Total	6884

(*Note continued on following page.*)

1758. April. *N.B.* Six women per company, per regiment, were victualled in like manner and proportion as the soldiers are, from the day the regiment embarked in Ireland, until the middle of December

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(Continuation of note from previous page.)

Provincials voted but not yet raised, vizt.—

New Hampshire	800
Massachusets	7000
Rhode Island	1000
Connecticut	5000
New York	2680
New Jerseys	1000
Total	17,480

Distribution of Troops for Fort du Quesne—

Regiments.	Total of each Regiment, Officers included
60th Stanwix's Detachmt	394
62 Montgomery's	1116
Additional Comps Do.	304
Royal Artilly, Officers included	40
Total	1854

Provincials 5000

James Abercromby
New York, 28th April 1758.

Recapitulation.	Total of each.
Troops for Louisbourg	14,215
Rangers	600
Company of Carpenters	90
	14,905
Troops for Canada	6,884
Provincials	17,480
	24,364
Troops for Nova Scotia	989
Troops for Fort Du Quesne	1,854
Provincials	5,000
	6,854
Total	47,112

last, at which time they were struck off by order of Major-General Hopson. 1758. April.

I have now done with the weather for the present, except some very uncommon alterations shall happen which may deserve particular attention; and, as I am informed the winters in this province admit of much variation, my intention is to renew my diary of the weather on the first day of November next, and continue it with the same punctuality as has been hitherto observed. May. 1st.

Three of our companies embarked to-day, and fell down the river; the Colonel embarked in the evening; he is to command [129] six companies and a detachment of rangers at fort Cumberland; upon his stepping into the boat he was saluted with eleven guns, according to the custom of most garrisons abroad. Our present force of every rank, including the detachment of Royal Artillery, amounts to two hundred and twenty-five men: and, if occasion should require, we can be reinforced with about seventy artificers and others from the town.

The transports sailed to-day, and the Hawk sloop of war came up to the wharf to clean; at ten o'clock this night, as some of the town's-people were fishing in their ponds, they were near being surprised by some of the enemy in a canoe, whom we conjecture to have been laying night lines on the north shore; and, perceiving a light which our people had with them, they had the presumption under cover of a thick fog to make towards it, but were luckily discovered, and obliged to put off hastily to prevent an alarm; it is suspected they were desirous to take a prisoner, in order to procure intelligence of our present strength, as the sailing of so large a detachment from hence could not escape their vigilance. 2d.

Some Frenchmen were seen this morning on horse-back riding down towards Babynot's-Hill, from cape Mayass, 3d.

1758. May. which is a little to the eastward of it: they came to take a view of the foundation that has been laid for a new block-house, for the protection of the cattle belonging to the government's teams, and to the inhabitants; these fellows made no delay, not chusing to trust themselves in such open ground: after gratifying their curiosity, they galloped off very precipitately.

5th. A covering party went two miles off to-day, to cover some workmen who are digging sand, in order to finish a casemate and some other works in the fort; our duty is now become smart on the Officers and soldiers; we are on guard every other night, and by day we are employed either in cutting fire-wood, or digging sand.

8th. [130] When the covering party were out to-day, some dogs rushed down the hill on the opposite side of Allen's river, and were immediately called off; one of the centinels gave the alarm by firing at them; the men stood to their arms, and the artificers retired behind them; our situation was too advantageous for the rabble to venture to attack us, and we were rather too distant from the range of their shot: we whistled and called to their dogs, hoping to provoke them to quit their cover; and the party gave them three cheers, but it was all to no purpose; at length, finding they would not come down from their ambush, the workmen returned to their work, and the detachment continued under arms for the remainder of the day. [The sand-pit was on the upper declivity of a hill, and the covering party on the eminence behind them; at the bottom was a pleasant vale, watered by the river before-mentioned, which ran serpentine: and on the opposite side, at some distance, was a very steep hill, covered with trees and under-wood.]

12th. Late last night arrived a sloop from fort Cumberland, with the Major of the 43d regiment,[1] who is to take the command

[1] Robert Elliot was appointed Major of the 43rd Regiment, February 2, 1757.

of this garrison: to-day, at his landing, he was saluted with eleven guns, which were answered by the swivels of the sloop, in which he took his passage. The transports with the 28th regiment came to an anchor in the bason; the wind, being contrary, obstructs their pursuing their voyage. Several representations have been made of the ruinous condition of the fortifications of this garrison, the insufficiency of the number of troops here to defend it, the necessity we are under of sending parties almost two miles off to cut fire-wood, and of our soldiers being obliged to carry it that great length of way, at the risk of their lives; the pressing necessity we are under of forwarding the King's works; and that we have neither flats, boats, barges, schooner or other vessel, on the river, by which to protect the navigation; or, if invested, to inable us to detach advice to any other fort or garrison in the province: and, lastly, that our Paymaster has not money sufficient to subsist the regiment for [131] the ensuing muster.—Two young gentlemen who left Europe with the 43d regiment, in order to serve as volunteers, marched with the detachment from hence that escorted the Engineer to fort Edward, on the 6th of last month: their intention being to proceed with the army to Louisbourg, they were escorted to Halifax by a detachment from the Royal Americans,[1] and in their march met with a straggling party of the enemy, of which they have transmitted to us the following relation: 1758. May.

"About six miles from fort Edward, in our way to Halifax, "we saw a great smoke in the woods, about two hundred yards "from the road; why we paid no regard to it, I will not "pretend to say: going a little farther, our guide, who was at "some small distance before our advanced-guard, saw twelve or "fourteen of the enemy sitting together at their dinner; they "immediately bounced up and ran off towards the woods: on

[1] The Royal Americans, or the 60th Regiment, was raised in the American colonies in 1755. The first Colonel was John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun.

1758. May. "their flight our guide fired at them and wounded one of them, "having tracked his blood afterwards on the snow; our party "by this time came up and pursued them, upon which the "enemy drew up behind their usual fences (the trees) fired at "our people, and then ran off. Our whole loss amounts to two "men killed on the spot, one of whom was our guide: we had "none wounded; what execution we did among them, I will "not pretend to say; but our advanced-guard gave them very "brisk firing, until they were ordered to desist: the Com- "manding Officer, not having any instructions how to act in "a case of this kind, did not think it proper to pursue the "enemy any farther; we therefore went back to the place where "they had been first alarmed, and got three camp-kettles, "a sealskin gun-case, several haversacks of the same skin, with "many little odd things in them, particularly a lock of a fire- "lock belonging to the 43d regiment, and a pair of large silver "buckles, which they got some time before from a Serjeant of "rangers who fell into their hands. After we had collected "our plunder, we proceeded on our march to Halifax, and "never halted until [132] we reached fort Sackville, where "we arrived at eight o'clock in the morning, and the other "twelve miles we came at our leisure; I must observe to you, "that I saw among the enemy a well-looking man with white "cloaths, and his hat and waistcoat were laced; which makes "us imagine he is a French regular Officer, &c. &c."

It is not unlikely but it was Monsieur Bois Hibert, and that he might then be on his march to Louisbourg with these rabble, whom he was probably collecting from their different districts, for that service.

A large detachment of chosen men from the troops going against Louisbourg, under the command of a Major, are ordered to scour this province, burn their settlements, and direct their course afterwards towards the straits of Canseau,

in order to cut off the retreat of the Acadians in their return from Cape Breton, after the surrender of its capital. 1758. May.

We are credibly informed, that upwards of forty letters for the Officers and soldiers of the 43d regiment lately lay at the Post-Office at Halifax, and the Postmaster, not knowing how he should be repaid the postage of them, or where to forward them to, transmitted them back to New-York, by which means it is not improbable but they may all miscarry[1]; it is an unlucky circumstance that some regulation is not set on foot, to prevent such disappointments happening to the troops throughout America, and those particularly who are doomed to exile in the miserable fortresses of this remote province. It is well known, that, during the late war in Flanders, there was a Postmaster-General to the British army, whose office was always at the head quarters; and all letters, whether forwarded by the packets to Holland, or transmitted by private ships, or otherwise, were regularly sent to the army, and duly distributed to the respective regiments; it is almost incredible

[1] This is the second reference made by the author to the postal arrangements of the time. It seems strange that officers who were frequently called upon to pay the troops during the campaign should be deprived of communication from home through the parsimonious policy of the Government. Sending letters through the post in those days was somewhat risky. On one occasion the captain of a packet forgot to deliver the mail bag and took it back to England. In the early part of last century there were important settlements on the Miramichi, where Newcastle and Chatham now stand. These settlements received their mail by a courier who used to make periodical visits to Fredericton. He was paid partly by a grant from the New Brunswick Legislature, and partly by subscriptions received among the people whom he served. The mails for the settlements which were carried over by the packets and landed at Fredericton by the courier were sent out to the settlements by the first trip of their local courier. Those who subscribed to the courier received their letters, but the letters of those who did not were carried back to Halifax, and then took their chance of being delivered by the first lumber-boat running to the Miramichi settlements. It was often months before these unfortunate, or unwise, people received their letters. In the year 1802, the authorities gave it as their opinion that "eight years was too long for a letter to remain in the dead letter office in Canada." (*Note by Mr. William Smith, Secretary of the Post Office Department, Ottawa.*)

1758. May. what sums have been paid for single European letters by Officers and soldiers, and the unnecessary extravagant expence that has been in- [133] curred by their travelling over almost every part of British America, before they have reached their proper owners.

13th. Some Officers of the 28th regiment, who are still detained by contrary winds in the bason, came up to-day to see this garrison, and inform us, that the season is much forwarder here than at fort Cumberland; this is easily accounted for, that part of the province being many leagues * eastward, or E. N. E. of Annapolis; moreover that fortress is situated on an open eminence, much exposed to every wind: while this fort, and its environs, are well sheltered by high lands, covered with thick forests all round.

14th. It being Whitsunday, this festival was duly observed: the New-England artificers, who are a sober, religious set of men, chanted two anthems for us in a very pleasing and solemn manner.[1] The fleet with the 28th regiment sailed this morning.

19th. Notwithstanding the length of a rigorous winter, and the backwardness of the season, vegetation is surprisingly forward, insomuch that we have been regaled with asparagus for these two days past. By a sloop just come from Halifax, we have

* I never heard exactly the distance between these two places, but, from my own knowledge of the time employed in sailing thither from hence, and the rate at which we sailed, I am of opinion it cannot be less than fifty leagues; and I calculate it after this manner: it is allowed to be above four leagues (or better than thirteen miles) from this fort to the entrance of this river from the bay, which I remember we once cleared about eight o'clock in the morning, and did not come to an anchor at Chegnecto until eleven o'clock the next day; in all this time, we never once shortened sail, for we had a fair wind, and remarkably moderate weather; so that allowing we did not exceed five knots in an hour (which, however, I am certain we did for several hours) it will be little short of what I have advanced.——I admit ships will run it down from that fort in a much shorter time; seven,—eight,—nine,—nay ten knots I have frequently heard of.—*Note by author.*

[1] The religious exercises in the navy at this time must have been very tedious. They consisted principally of preaching, praying, and reading. This

an account of Admiral Boscawen's being arrived with a fine fleet in Chebucto harbour, and of Sir Charles Hardy's having taken some valuable prizes off Louisbourg; on board of one of them was the following lading: *fifteen hundred thirteen-inch shells, four hundred barrels of powder, seven* [134] *hundred barrels of flour, four hundred barrels of pork, four chests of money, and twelve hundred stands of arms.* 1758. May.

Upon Admiral Boscawen's being told at Halifax, that some French men of war and transports had got into Louisbourg, he replied, *I am glad of it; if all the fleet of France goes in, I will follow them; there is room enough for us all;—the more we find there, the more captures I will make.*

The Captain-Lieutenant[1] of the 43d regiment is promoted to the company that was vacated by the death of the worthy Officer who was killed on the 8th of December last;[2] *and a Lieutenant from another corps is preferred in his room.*[3]

Wooding and covering parties were sent out this morning, to the hill westward of Allen's river, for some fire-wood (this eminence is described under the 8th instant;) when the party are in possession of that ground, they have little to apprehend; but the road leading to it is dangerous, being a defilé of near a quarter of a mile in length, so that twelve men posted there would make great execution among ten times their number, 24th.

is the first mention of singing; which was probably a relief. In the journal of a chaplain of the fleet at Louisbourg a few years before, these items occur:

"Mun 8 I read some in Watson [Watson's *Body of Divinity*]. Cap. Fletcher joyned us.

"Tues 9 Read some in Watson. Bad weather we have met since we have been down about two foul days to one fair. . . .

"Thurs 11 I read some Watson etc.

"Fri Still reading in Watson. A storm of snow, very cold weather.

"Sat 13 Read some Watson, some rain with thunder.

"Sab 14 I preached all day from as ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord so walk ye in him."—*Diary kept at the Siege of Louisbourg*, 1745, *by the Rev. Joseph Emerson.*

[1] David Maitland: see note, p. 128.

[2] Captain Peter Pigou: see note, p. 128.

[3] The appointment was only temporary: see p. 304.

1758. May. without being driven to any sollicitude for their own safety. At noon the weather, turning out wet, with thunder storms, obliged the detachment to return to the fort; the Officer, pursuant to his orders, reported the disagreeable circumstances of a command's being sent there, and the dangers they are exposed to, notwithstanding the most prudent precautions.

The cape blockhouse has been pulled down, in order to be repaired; and, when completed, is to be erected on Babinot's-Hill, which will render this place more agreeable both to the troops and the town's-people, and be a great protection to their cattle; many advantages will result from it to every individual.

29th. At five o'clock this morning a Captain, Subaltern, and forty men, with three gunners, six swivels, and two wall-pieces, marched out, and took possession of the ground on the eminence of Babi- [135] not's-Hill for the blockhouse; this fortress will stand very advantageously, being on a neck of land, which, by the serpentine course of Allen's river, forms a peninsula, with a natural glacis to three faces of it; the detachment incamped here with their front to the eastward, then disposed of their artillery to the best advantage, in case of an alarm; posted the proper advanced centinels, set up a flag-staff, and instantly hoisted colours: carts were, at the same time, employed in carrying out the timber, and the artificers, who are expert at this kind of work, raised one story of the house, and laid the floor for the second, before night.

30th. The detachment at the advanced blockhouse was relieved to-day by an equal number, as yesterday; an Officer and thirty men, with two guides, were ordered to scour the country: they took a tour of about fourteen miles, and returned by a different route, without meeting with any annoyance, or track of man or beast.

31st. The new fortress at Babinot's-Hill being almost finished, the detachment is reduced to one Subaltern, one Serjeant, one

Gunner, and thirty rank and file. We are now tormented much by musketa's and a small black burning fly: they give us no quarter either by day or night; if I mistake not, the author of Lord Anson's memorable voyage says, that the musketa's are very troublesome in South America, during the day-time; and that they never bite after sun-set: the case is very different in this part of the world, these insects being exceedingly more teazing by night than they are by day. There are a number of birds that fly about here after sun-set, called Musketa Hawks,[1] from their living on and destroying the musketa's; they are of the falcon kind, of a dark grey colour, and a little larger than a blackbird, they are numerous, according to the quantity of their prey; and fly so low and steady, as to be a good mark to be shot at. 1758. May.

Late last night some Frenchmen crossed the river in canoes, opposite to the upper end of the town; they broke open a merchant's [136] storehouse, and robbed it of several valuable articles, some of which, in their confusion, they dropped on the shore, and were since recovered: one of these fellows went to a house adjoining to the storehouse, and lifted up the latch, whereupon the woman from within, being awake, challenged; the other called to her in the Indian language (with an intent, as she thinks, to frighten her) and, finding she would not be silent, he spoke to her in English, bade her lie quiet, and make no alarm, or he would murder her; which terrified her so much, that, by pinching her husband, she roused him: he jumped up instantly, and the Frenchman, being thereby likely to be discovered, ran out of the house; some town's-people, passing at that time, in order to fish in June. 2d.

[1] This is probably the Night-hawk, *Chordeiles virginianus*, called also the Night-jar. "The flight of the Night-hawk is free and graceful in the extreme. Soaring through space without any apparent motion of its wings, suddenly it darts with amazing swiftness like an erratic bat after the fly, mosquito, beetle or moth that falls within the range of its truly hawk-like eye." (*Bird Neighbours*, by Neltje Blanchan.) They are very abundant in this region.

1758. June. their ponds, obliged the rogues to make off to their canoes, and re-cross the river. Had they not been disturbed, their intention, probably, was, after plundering the storehouse, to set fire to it, according to their usual custom; one of them exchanged an old hat for a better; it had a Corporal's shoulder-knot round it, by way of hatband, with a tassel at the end, curiously ornamented with beads after the Indian manner.

5th. The advanced blockhouse is now finished on Babinot's Hill; it has a stout picket-work, at a small distance, round it, and loopholes therein for musketry, with flankers at the angles, which enfilade the faces and circumjacent ground, so as to render it a good post against any number of small arms; a Serjeant, Gunner, and fifteen rank and file, mount guard there every day; six swivel guns are fixed there on carriages, with a proper allowance of ammunition of every kind, some granado's, and a week's provisions.

8th. A sloop is just arrived from Pimmaquid,[1] the Master whereof informs us, that he spoke with a twenty-gun ship who lies at anchor in the bay, stationed there, as he supposes, for the protection of these garrisons; we are also told by this man, that the army under [137] General Abercromby, are on their march; and that Sir William Johnson has the command of a large body of Indians, who are daily increasing their numbers, by the defection of other tribes from the French interest; and that the large corps of provincial troops, which compose a part of that army, were in high spirits, and well appointed, insomuch that the provinces sanguinely flatter themselves with a very successful campaign in that quarter.

9th. The Captain of his Majesty's ship Hind,[2] now at anchor off the entrance of this river, arrived here in his barge, with money for the troops; he is to proceed on the same errand to fort Cumberland; whence, in his return, he is to look into St. John's, fire several guns there, and afterwards repair to the fleet at Louisbourg;—this gentleman informs us, that the

[1] Now Pemmaquid.

[2] Captain Bond.

whole armament sailed from Halifax for Cape Breton, on the 28th ult. Captain Bond has favoured us with a copy of the following orders, published by his Excellency Admiral Boscawen, dated Halifax harbour, May the 21st, 1758. 1758. June.

"All arrears and sea pay of all the corps to be paid "forthwith, as far as there is money to do it. The grenadiers "of the army, and two or three of the oldest regiments, will "probably be the first to land, unless the Admiral thinks it "necessary, from the situation of the transports, or other cir- "cumstances, to order it otherwise. The boats of the ordnance "ships, as well as the rest, will be employed in landing the first "body of men, except such as are requisite to carry on shore "the light six-pounders. The boats of the hospital-ships are "solely to be employed for the use and assistance of any who "may be wounded; and a place of rendezvous will be appointed "for the boats, when the landing is fixed upon. The seamen, "who row the transports' boats, are not to have fire-arms, when "the troops are ordered to land. Officers are to go into the "boats, in proportion to the number of men, without crowding, "particularly if there be any [138] swell or surf. The Admiral "will order some light boats, to save any men that may fall "into the sea by any accident. The first body in Gabarus bay "must carry nothing in the boats but their arms and ammuni- "tion, with bread and cheese in their pockets for two days. "All the tents and blankets of the troops that land first are "to be carefully bundled up, ready to carry on shore, after "they have got footing, and beat off the enemy. Six days' "provisions to be prepared, at a proper time, in readiness to "be sent a-shore after the men. Trusty persons to be left in "every ship, to superintend and take care of the baggage and "provisions. No woman to be permitted to land, until the men "are all on shore, and until their tents, blankets, provisions, and "necessaries are likewise landed. Every Officer, commanding "in a boat, shall be answerable, that no man fire his piece from "out of the boat. There have been examples of men fixing

1758. June. "their bayonets in boats, but the practice is so absurd, that it "seems hardly necessary to forbid it: bayonets are fixed in a "moment after the men are landed. As fast as the men get "out of the boats, they must form, and march directly forward "to clear the beach, and charge whatever is before them; they "are not to pursue, but will be ordered to take post, so as "effectually to secure the rest of the army. The Commanders "of the grenadiers, and all the Field-Officers, employed in the "first landing, are to disembark in light-rowing boats, that they "may land their respective corps, and give their orders readily. "The transports, which have on board the regiment of the train "of artillery, and of the corps of rangers, must keep as much "together as possible, that, when the signal is made for any "particular corps, it may be in readiness to act: as this depends, "in a great measure, upon the Masters of transports, they are "to endeavour to effect it; but, if the Admiral should think "proper to order, that the boats of every transport, without "regard to the corps, should bring away as many men, as they "can safely contain, to any particular place [139] of rendezvous, "then the Commanding Officer of every ship is to make choice "of good men, and under proper Officers * and non-commis-"sioned Officers, that the first attack may be carried on with "vigour: Colonels and Field-Officers will be named to com-"mand, and every regiment, as they know the number of "men the boats can hold, will send Captains in proportion, "and give them directions to be ready, before they leave this "harbour.

"As there may be reason to detach the sloops and schooners "of the fleet, a signal will be appointed for them, and all "signals are to be duly attended to."[1]

* With all deference to this able Naval Commander, though there may be picking and chusing, on such occasions, among the private men, commissioned Officers will never submit to it, every man insisting upon being sent in his own proper turn.—*Note by author.*

[1] This order, with minor variations, is given in the *Journal kept by —— Gordon*, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. v. 103–5.

Here follows an extract of a letter from Halifax to our Commanding Officer, dated May the 30th, 1758. 1758. June.

"The fleet, amounting to near two hundred sail, sailed on the morning of the 28th instant; before we lost sight of them, they were joined by the Dublin, on board of whom was Major-General Amherst, who immediately went on board the Admiral; exclusive of the army, there are near *eighteen hundred marines* on board the fleet, which you are sensible will be a good reinforcement to throw into the trenches, after the troops have landed and cleared the way for them. The Admiral has nineteen ships of the line, exclusive of the Dublin: and the Devonshire, with the Pembroke, who are in this harbour, will join the fleet, as soon as their men recover. There are also nine frigates, two fire-ships, and a great number of sloops to assist, as occasion may require; so that we hope we may soon expect to hear good news from the eastward, &c. &c."

[140] The gardens and the country are now in great beauty; if an European was to visit us at this season, who had never wintered in America, it would be almost impossible to persuade him to credit the extreme length and severity of our winters, and he would be inclined to think all he had heard and read of this climate was fabulous; it is really astonishing to behold the length of our grass, and the forwardness of the fruit-trees, as well as of vegetation in general, in the short space of a very few days. 11th.

At four o'clock this afternoon we were alarmed by the guard at the advanced blockhouse, they having discharged four swivels, and hoisted their colours, which was answered by our colours in like manner and one gun: an Officer and thirty men instantly sallied out from the fort, to inquire the cause; and were informed, that twelve or fourteen men had peeped out of the woods in different places, and that one had crossed the hill, but the Serjeant could not be certain whether he had any arms with him. The Officer proceeded pursuant 13th.

1758. June. to his orders, and scoured the neighbouring forests for several miles, without making any discovery; the party did not return till near eleven o'clock at night.

14th. The occasion of the alarm yesterday was a negro servant's deserting his master, upon his supposing himself ill used; and, after wandering through the woods until he was almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger, he made several efforts to cross Mayass-Hill, in order to return to the fort; but being fired upon by the blockhouse guard, he was frightened, and retired again to the woods. This, with the haziness of the weather, and some black stumps of trees, that appear, at a distance, like men (and aided, perhaps, by the force of imagination, which is not an uncommon case) deceived the Serjeant and his guard; the extreme simplicity of the poor African prevented his being severely punished*.

17th. [141] A vessel from fort Cumberland put in here; by her a letter was received, acquainting us, that on the 18th ult. three deserters from the enemy came and surrendered there to the Commanding Officer; they brought their arms with them; one is a Swiss, the second a Hollander, and the third a native of France; they belonged to the regulars, and their uniforms are faced with blue. They report, that they came from the island of St. John (near Cape Breton) that their people were starving for want of provisions, and that Monsieur Bois Hibert was actually gone to Louisbourg with a great number of men from this province; being asked how many? they answered, between three and four hundred.

Our weather has been remarkably whimsical since the beginning of May; sometimes it is very sultry, and then we are tormented with insects; at others, cloudy and raw, with disagreeable fogs, which are succeeded by high winds and violent thunder storms; for the greatest part of these six

* When the Commanding Officer threatened to hang him, he replied with great firmness, 'he was glad of it, for then he was certain he should return to his own country.'—*Note by author.*

weeks past, the air has been so unnaturally cold, that we have been obliged to continue our fires. 1758. June.

This being the anniversary of his Majesty's accession, the colours were hoisted at break of day; at noon twenty-one guns were discharged from the ramparts, which were answered by three good vollies from a detachment of the garrison. The new guards are out at exercise every morning; the Officers, for their instruction and amusement, fall into the ranks as privates, and practice all the evolutions and firings. 22d.

We have had fish in great plenty and perfection for some days past.

Our soldiers are now most seasonably relieved by fish and vegetables, which they much wanted, having contracted scorbutic disorders, in consequence of their continual salt diet. A sloop arrived from Boston with fire-wood for the garrison; by this vessel we have received the following manifesto, concerning the French infraction of the capitulation of fort William-Henry. July. 6th.

[142] "Fort Edward (New England) June the 24th, 1758.

"The enemy being become masters of fort William-"Henry, by virtue of a capitulation made upon the 9th of "August last, which capitulation they immediately broke, in a "most notorious and flagrant manner, by murdering, pillaging "and captivating many of his Majesty's good subjects, in "violation of the said capitulation, as well as of the law of "nations. Upon these considerations, and in honour and "justice to his Majesty's arms,—Major-General Abercromby "*hereby declares the said capitulation null and void*, and that all "Officers and soldiers, serving, the 9th of August last, at fort "William-Henry, are hereby *impowered and commanded* to "serve in the same manner, as if no such capitulation had "ever been made. All which Major-General Abercromby has "notified to the Governor General of Canada,[1] signifying to

[1] The Marquis de Vaudreuil.

1758. July. "him at the same time, that, if any of his Majesty's subjects, "supposed to be comprehended in the said capitulation, may "fall into the enemy's hands, and any violence follow there- "upon, that he will *retaliate* on the persons of the French "prisoners now in his hands, as well as on all such as shall "be taken hereafter by sea or land.

"The above to be published at the head of every corps in "his Majesty's service in North America.

Signed by order,

"JAMES CUNINGHAME,[1]
"Aid de Camp to his Excellency."

To Lieutenant Colonel James, or the Officer commanding his Majesty's 43d Regiment in the Bay of Fundy, and Province of Nova Scotia."

8th. An immense quantity of excellent fish was taken in the ponds this morning: a soldier, who was bathing in the river, was carried, by the violence of the current, beyond his depth, and drowned. In consequence of repeated reports made by the Officers who daily visit the barracs, "that the soldiers have no bedding to lie on [143] (what they had being worn out) that the windows are in a shattered condition, and the roofs of these caserns are so faulty, that the men can scarce keep themselves and their arms dry:" the Commanding Officer has made frequent representations of these grievances, yet to no purpose: the answer, made by the gentlemen who have the management of these matters here, is to this effect: "We cannot do any thing without orders from England, the barracs are not worth repairing, they ought to be condemned, &c."

12th. The detachment here is daily at exercise, nevertheless our time passes away very heavily; and, when the calendar does

[1] Probably James Cuningham, Captain of the 45th Regiment of Foot, October 1, 1755; Lieutenant-Colonel, October 14, 1758.

not furnish us with a loyal excuse for assembling in the evening, we have recourse to a Free-Mason Lodge,[1] "where we work so hard, that it is inconceivable to think what a quantity of business, of great importance, is transacted, in a very short space of time." 1758. July.

Fresh provisions have been scarce with us for some weeks past, so that, when we are not so fortunate as to take fish, we are reduced to eat salt beef and pork from the stores; a circumstance much more disagreeable in summer than in winter. Our Commandant has made a partition of all the clear ground, on Mayass and Babinot's-Hills, within the range of the advanced blockhouse; and all hands are now employed in cutting and saving hay, against the arrival of cattle from New-England, for the ensuing winter.

We begin to be impatient for news from the eastward and southward; this morning our Major, desirous of taking a view of the country, ordered an Officer and thirty men to escort him; we were accompanied by Mr. Dyson, and proceeded as far as Saw-mill-Creek; we marched out, and returned by different routes; scoured the orchards, and all the adjoining thickets, without making any discovery, except some horse's dung which was quite fresh: we tracked the horse to the creek, where we could perceive he had crossed over, so that we conclude he was mounted by one of the enemy, who might be detached as a spy to watch our motions, and, having [144] discovered our party, had retired to alarm the country. The orchards abound with apples, pears, cherries, currants, and some raspberries; the grass, on these grounds, is not less than three feet in length, though of a strong coarse kind; nothing can equal the beauty and fragrance of the forests at this season, where there are strawberries and other spontaneous fruits in great plenty; the detachment returned, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a little fatigued, for the 24th.

[1] The first Masonic lodge in Nova Scotia was established at Annapolis Royal in 1738. It was called Annapolis Royal Lodge.

1758. July. heat of the weather was intolerable; though of this we cannot complain every day.

31st. A vessel turned into the bason this morning early, and tripped out again; as the weather was hazy, we could not discern whether she was a sloop or a large sail-boat: the Fort-Major, with two Officers, a Serjeant, and twelve rank and file, were sent down in an old crazy boat to reconnoitre the bason and bay, and returned at night without making any discovery; upon their first setting off, several signals were discharged in the woods, on the opposite side of the river, by the sculking rabble of the country.

August. 2d. This morning arrived a sloop from Boston with sheep and black cattle, a most agreeable freight, as we have been much distressed for fresh provisions for some time past; several letters were brought by this vessel, among which I received two, with the following authentic intelligence:

"Camp before Louisburg, June 16th.

"The fleet arrived safe in Gabarus bay on the 2d, 3d, and "4th, instant; and, by a perverse series of bad weather, we "could not land before the eighth; which we fortunately "effected, after encountering dangers that are almost in-"credible: we are now intrenching our camp, but cannot yet "land any artillery, by reason of the high wind and great swell "upon this coast. Brigadier Wolfe (whom, I have heard you "say, you remember in Flanders) has performed prodigies of "valour, and has, within these few days, taken post at the light-"house point, which is opposite to the island battery.[1] To give "you my own private opinion, I think [145] General Amherst "(whom I have also heard you mention) seems, by his great "prudence and steadiness, to be well calculated for the Ameri-"can service; I thank God I am well, and when we have re-"duced this garrison, which now I make no doubt of, for I "think the worst is over; if I am alive and able, shall

[1] See plan of Louisbourg.

"transmit you, according to my promise, a faithful narrative "of all our transactions, &c. &c. We hear constant skir- "mishing in the woods in our rear, between our light "troops and the Indians, &c. I have requested an Officer of "the navy to forward this by the first opportunity to Halifax, "or Boston. 1758. August.

"Yours very sincerely, &c."

My second letter is as follows:

"Fort Edward, July 11, 1758.

"I thank God I can inform my dear friend that I am "alive, and that is all; on the 6th instant a division of our "army, under the gallant Lord Howe,[1] fell in with an advanced

[1] George Augustus, Viscount Howe, third of that title in the peerage of Ireland, was born in 1725. His father, Emanuel Scrope Howe, second Viscount, died when Governor of Barbadoes in 1735. Richard, Earl Howe, Admiral of the Fleet, and William, fifth Viscount, General of the Army, were his brothers. He became Colonel in the 60th Regiment, or Royal Americans, February 25, 1757, and was transferred to the 55th on September 28. In July of that year he landed at Halifax. On December 29 he was appointed Brigadier-General in America. In 1758 he served under Abercromby in the Lake George expedition, and Pitt seems to have relied on his energy to bring that undertaking to a successful issue. By his ability, enthusiasm, and courage, he endeared himself to the army, at the same time that he effected reforms necessary to American campaigning, but unheard of on European drill-yards. An officer in the opposing army, Captain Pouchot, in his *Memoir upon the Late War in North America* (Hough's edition, vol. i. p. 110), gives some particulars:

"He had induced all the officers to put themselves on a level with the common soldier, through fear of the event of Braddock's defeat, where the officers were fired upon by preference. He induced the army to cut their hair short, leaving it not more than two fingers' breadth long, and all the officers and soldiers were supplied with a kind of gaiters like those worn by the Indians and Canadians and called *Mituzzes*. Their haversacks were rolled up in a blanket, which they carried as did the Indians and Canadians. They had each thirty pounds of meal, a pound of powder, and four pounds of balls, besides their cartridge boxes full, so that an army thus equipped would need no magazine for a month. Their canteens were filled with rum. Both officers and men mixed their own meal with a little water, and baked it in cakes, by putting it on a flat stone under the ashes, an arrangement which did very well for a light expedition. The soldier thus found everything necessary for his

1758. August. "party of the enemy, whom we routed; but his Lordship was "killed, and is deservedly lamented by every individual. On "the 8th we attacked the French army who were strongly in- "trenched at Ticonderoga, and, after reiterated efforts to no "purpose, we were obliged to give way with very considerable "loss. The remainder of our army retired to our old camp "near lake George, where we left them; the wounded Officers "and soldiers were sent off without delay for their recovery, "some to this place, and some to Albany, where I received "your letter of the 6th of February last, two days before we "marched from thence: I have not time, nor am I well able, "to say more at present, as I write in great pain, from a "bad wound I received in my left arm; when I am better, "and more at leisure, you may depend on my punctuality, "in writing you as particular a relation of this unhappy "attack as I possibly can.——Adieu."

[146] By the foregoing sloop we learn from Philadelphia, that the forces under Brigadier Forbes advanced very successfully towards fort du Quesne, and that, from the precautions he takes, affairs are like to go well in that quarter.

We have also the pleasure to hear, that all is well at fort

use, and was no more loaded than ordinarily. The officers and men had only one shirt a piece, which was doubtless of cotton, and well made. Lord H. set the example, by himself washing his own dirty shirt, and drying it in the sun, while he in the meantime wore nothing but his coat."

On July 6, 1758, as Abercomby's army was approaching Montcalm's position at Ticonderoga, Howe with a reconnoitring party came suddenly on a French detachment. The French were defeated, but Howe was slain. The estimate of Major Thomas Mante (*History of the Late War in America*, p. 147) as to the effects of his loss does not seem to be exaggerated:

"In Lord Howe, the soul of General Abercromby's army seemed to expire. His enterprising spirit infused a noble ardour into every rank; and his activity was such as created an emulation amongst the solders, that testified the highest opinion of his good example. From the unhappy moment the General was deprived of his advice, neither order nor discipline was observed in the army; and a strange kind of infatuation usurped the place of resolution."

Lord Howe was buried in St. Peter's Church, Albany.

Cumberland; that a detachment had lately been sent from thence on an expedition, and had returned with success. 1758. August.

The heat of the dog-days in this country is excessive, with close, suffocating airs; this evening we had the most violent thunder and lightning that ever I saw and heard; even the inhabitants express much surprise at it; and the flashes had the greatest variety of awful beauties, and choice of colours, that the most lively imagination can conceive; this was succeeded by five hours constant, heavy rain, with remarkable large drops. 4th.

A breach has been discovered to-day in the palisado fence, on the lower end of the marsh, contiguous to a place called the French Dock,[1] where there appear many tracks of moggo-sans on the mud: whence we conclude the enemy came last night to steal away our cattle, pursuant to their custom; that place has been their constant rendezvous on such occasions, and the unevenness of the ground favours their scheme, so as to render them unperceived by either of the blockhouses; it is not to be doubted, but these fellows saw the supply we received by the last sloop; and, in order to disappoint their views, for the future, a proclamation is issued from the fort, ordering all the cattle to be housed, immediately, upon the first gun firing in the evening. 7th.

A council was held to-day in this garrison, in consequence of which, an embargo is laid on the last sloop that arrived, on account of two privateers the enemy have got in the bay: these vessels were also New-England traders, that have been surprised, as they lay at anchor, by these river vermin in their canoes; a scheme was proposed to arm the sloop, and, put a detachment on board of her, to [147] cruise against the enemy; but it was considered, that a large party could not, in our present situation, be spared, and we could not hope for success with a small one. 9th.

[1] The old French wharf was at the south-west angle of the fort on the Annapolis River.

1758. August. 10th. We were alarmed, about ten o'clock this night, by two shots discharged in the skirts of the town; the main-guard instantly sallied out, but returned before it could be replaced by another: since the robbery of the store-house, as mentioned on the 2d of June, the inhabitants of the town have kept a guard to patrole every night; and the alarm proceeded from their seeing two men whom they challenged, and, receiving no answer, at the same time one of them sculking off, to avoid being discovered, the patrole fired at them, but fortunately did no mischief: the two men were Officers' servants who were upon an affair of gallantry, and declined answering the challenge, to prevent a discovery; one of them was shot through the corner of his hat.

13th. This morning the Serjeant of the advanced blockhouse reported to the Commanding Officer, that last night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, he was alarmed by a loud shout, at a little distance from his post, which was answered by another still nearer to him; whereupon he made his men stand to their arms, and disposed of them, in a proper manner, on the two floors of the house; that they then listened very attentively, and could plainly hear people talking; as they spoke in a language he did not understand, he concluded they were a party of the enemy, and therefore remained under arms until it was clear day-light; he added, that he would have given the dogs a swivel, but was afraid of alarming the garrison.

[We are concerned that the enemy did not attack the blockhouse, for that Serjeant is a brave fellow, and would have given us a good account of them; though it is more probable their intention was to steal our cattle, rather than attempt to strike a *coup* at that post.]

17th. [148] Two vessels turned into the bason this morning, but, without wetting their anchors, turned out again into the bay; upon the wind's failing them, they came back a second time, and, before they could moor, the wind sprung up fresh from the south-west, so that they soon disappeared and pro-

ceeded on their voyage (as we suppose) to fort Cumberland. 1758. August.

About one o'clock to-day, the enemy made a large fire in the woods, opposite to the fort; our colours were instantly hoisted, and two guns were discharged at the smoke, with a round and grape shot in each; upon a salutation of this kind, the fire always diminishes. 18th.

A schooner arrived, from Boston, this morning; by this vessel we had the satisfaction to receive a bag of letters, some from Europe, and others from the southward; but none from the eastward: among those which I got, was the following one, from my friend in the Commander in Chief's army, dated Albany, July the 29th, 1758. 20th.

"I scratched a few lines to you, on the 11th instant, from "fort Edward, and, as I wrote in great pain, I think it was "scarce legible;—such as it was, shall be glad to hear it "reached you safe: in a few days after I dispatched it to you, "my fever abated, and I was judged to be out of danger; "for some time, however, it was apprehended I should lose "my arm; as all my baggage remained here since last winter, "I obtained leave to remove to this place, knowing I could "be better accommodated here, than in my confined situation "at fort Edward: in my last, I promised you a particular "account of our unhappy storm on the 8th instant; it is a "mortifying task, but you shall be indulged, as I know you "are curious after every occurrence. It will be needless to "have retrospect to any events preceding the 4th of this "month, as there was not any thing remarkable, except pre-"paring for the expedition, and embarking our provisions, "stores, and artillery; the [149] latter were mounted on "floats or rafts, for the protection of our armament upon the "lake, and to cover us at our landing. On the 5th, the whole "army, amounting to about sixteen thousand men, embarked "likewise; our transports were batteaus and whale-boats, and "in such numbers as to cover the lake for a considerable

1758. August. "length of way, as may well be supposed; we proceeded "soon after in great order, and, as I was in one of the fore- "most divisions, as soon as we were put in motion, I think "I never beheld so delightful a prospect. On the 6th, we "arrived early in the morning at the cove, where we were to "land: here we expected some opposition; but a party of "light troops having got on shore, and finding all clear, the "whole army landed without loss of time, formed into "columns, and marched immediately; upon our approach, an "advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of several hundred "regulars and savages, who were posted in a strong intrenched "camp, retired very precipitately, after setting fire to their "camp, and destroying almost every thing they had with "them; we continued our march through dark woods and "swamps that were almost impassable, till at length, having "lost our way, the army being obliged to break their order "of march, we were perplexed, thrown into confusion, and "fell in upon one another, in a most disorderly manner: it "was at this time that Brigadier Lord Howe, being advanced "a considerable way a-head of us, with all the light infantry, "and one of our columns, came up with the before-mentioned "advanced guard of the enemy, whom we also suppose to "have lost themselves in their retreat, when a smart skirmish "ensued, in which we were victors, though with some loss; "trifling, however, in comparison to that which the army "sustained by his Lordship's fall, who was killed at the first "charge, and is universally regretted both by Officers and "soldiers; the enemy suffered much in this rencounter, being "very roughly handled; and we made many men and several "Officers prisoners. On the morning of the 7th we marched "back to the landing- [150] place, in order to give the troops "time to rest and refresh themselves, being by this time not "a little harrassed, as may well be conceived: here we "incamped, got a fresh supply of provisions, and boiled our "kettles; we had not been there many hours, when a detach-

"ment of the army (to which I belonged) were sent off under 1758. August.
"Colonel Bradstreet,[1] to dispossess the enemy of a post they
"had at a saw-mill, about two miles from Ticonderoga; but
"they did not wait for us; for, upon receiving intelligence
"by their scouts of our approach, they destroyed the mill, and
"a bridge that lay a-cross the river; the latter we soon re-
"placed, and lay upon our arms until the evening, when we
"were joined by the remainder of the army. I wish I could
"throw a veil over what is to follow; for I confess I am at
"a loss how to proceed:—our army was numerous, we were in
"good spirits, and, if I may give you my own private opinion,
"I believe we were one and all infatuated with a notion of
"carrying every obstacle, with so great a force as we had,
"by a mere *Coup de Musqueterie;* to such chimerical and
"romantic ideas I intirely attribute our great disaster on
"the 8th, in which we were confirmed by the report of our
"chief Engineer, who had reconnoitred the enemy's works,
"and determined our fate, by declaring it as his opinion, that
"it was very practicable to carry them by a general storm;
"accordingly, the army being formed, and every thing in
"readiness, we proceeded to the attack, which was as well
"conducted and supported as any bold undertaking ever was;
"—but alas! we soon found ourselves grossly deceived;—the
"intrenchments were different from what we had expected,
"and were made to believe; their breast-works were uncom-
"monly high, and the ground in their front, for a great length
"of way, was covered with an *Abbatis de Bois*, laid so close
"and thick, that their works were really rendered impreg-
"nable.[2] The troops, by the cool and spirited example of the

[1] See note, p. 264.

[2] Captain Pouchot has left a description of the French position at Ticonderoga, or Carillon:

"The land which stretches from the Falls to Carillon, formed an elevated peninsula, the summit of which was rounded, and sinuous, with ridges and elevations at intervals. The road from Carillon to the Falls is along this summit. There were three or four hills, which run from this summit to the

1758. August. "General, made many eager efforts to no purpose; for we "were so intangled in the branches of the felled trees, [151] "that we could not possibly advance; the enemy were sensible "of this, and remained steady at their breast-works, repeating "their fire, which, from their numbers, was very weighty, and, "from a conviction of their own safety, was served with great "composure. Such was our situation for almost five hours, "when, at length, finding our loss considerable, and no pros- "pect of carrying our point, we were ordered to desist, and "retire:—the army retreated to the ground we had occupied "on the preceeding night at the sawmill, and the wounded "were sent off to the batteaus without delay, where the "remains of our shattered forces joined us early on the ninth, "and the whole re-embarked, and continued our retreat to "lake George; there we arrived the same evening and in- "camped. That place is computed to be about thirty miles "from Ticonderoga (though I believe it is more) and fourteen "from fort Edward, whither, as also to this town (from which "I now write) all the wounded were sent the next day. "Our loss is indeed very considerable, as you will see by the

river at the Falls, and the road passes between these hills which rendered it susceptible of defence, for the distance of the eighth of a league. The slope of the ground towards the river was quite steep, but on the left side it was more gentle. There were a few knolls near the bottom of the slope, and then a flat of about 200 toises to the river.

"The left of our entrenchments descended along this steep slope to the river, and crowned the summit of the ground. Our right was on the height which commanded the little flat of 200 toises, where the entrenchment was scarcely traced. . . . The entrenchment was an abattis of trees. The parapet was covered by branches interwoven, presenting their points most difficult to tear from the palisade, and affording shelter for a sudden movement. It was difficult to distinguish this kind of intrenchment, which the enemy might easily take for a simple abattis. M. Pouchot was well pleased with these arrangements. Having met M. de Montcalm, who welcomed him as one who had brought three hundred chosen men (the same that had been selected for the expedition to Schenectady), the General asked him how he found his position? He replied, 'General, until the enemy have driven you from the height, they cannot reconnoitre your intrenchment.' He appeared surprised and pleased at this remark."—Hough's edition of Pouchot's *Memoir upon the Late War in America*, i. 109, 114.

ATTAQUES DES RETRANCHEMENS DEVANT LE FORT CARILLON
en Amérique
par les anglais commandés par le général Abercrombie contre les français
aux ordres du Marquis de Montcalm le 8 Juillet 1758.

RENVOIS.

A Le fort Carillon. B Retranchemens, que les français ont commencé à faire le 7 Juillet au matin. C Camp de l'armée française, où elle se rendit le 6 & resta sous les armes pendant la nuit du 7 au 8. Le 8 à la pointe du jour elle prit la position D en ordre de bataille derrière les retranchemens. E Les grénadiers & les piquets pour reserve derrière chaque bataillon. F Colonnes des anglais, qui attaquent les retranchemens à midi & demie. G Pelotons de troupes legères & provincia les s'insultant entre ces colonnes. H Les canadiens sortent du retranchement, & attaquent une colonne anglaise en flanc. I Chaloupes des anglais, que parurent pendant l'attaque; & furent repoussées par l'artillerie du fort. K Retraite des colonnes anglaises dans leur premier camp près des moulins à scier vers sept heures du soir; leur troupes legères couvrirent cette retraite par leur feu prolongé jusques dans la nuit. L Position des français après la retraite des anglais. M Batteries redoutes & retranchemens, que les français établirent après le combat.

C. P. S. C. M.

PLAN OF FORT CARILLON

Showing the attack on the Entrenchments in 1758. From a coloured engraving in the Dominion Archives of a drawing by Therbu, Lieutenant Engineer

"inclosed return. The valiant Colonels Donaldson,[1] Bever,[2] "and Major Proby,[3] with many other of our friends, I am "heartily sorry to acquaint you, are among the slain *. So "that what we find so feelingly expressed by the poet is here "fatally versified.[4] For, 1758. August.

> How many mothers shall bewail their sons!
> How many widows weep their husbands slain!

"What loss the enemy sustained, or if any, it is impossible for "us to be able to give the least account of; they did not "attempt to pursue us in our retreat.[5]——Let me hear from

[1] John Donaldson, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 55th Regiment, December 25, 1755; Colonel in America, July 14, 1758.

[2] Samuel Beaver, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 46th Regiment, February 2, 1757; Colonel in America, January 25, 1758.

[3] Major Thomas Proby, appointed Major, 55th Regiment, December 24, 1755.

* These three Officers were gentlemen of distinguished merit, and, being respectively very great ornaments, so they are sensible losses to the army, by whom they are sincerely regretted.—*Note by author.*

[4] "verified": see Errata.

[5] The following account of the battle is from the *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm:*

"The 8th of July, 1758: The *générale* was sounded at day-break, that all the soldiers might become acquainted with their positions for the defense of the entrenchments. . . .

"On the left of the line were the battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc, and two pickets arrived the evening before; Bernard's and Duprat's volunteers held the opening on the *Rivière de la Chute.* The centre was occupied by the Royal Roussillon battalion and the first battalion of Berry, and the remaining pickets of the Chevalier de Lévis. La Reine, Béarn and Guyenne defended the right; and in the level space between the right and the *Rivière de St. Frédéric* had been posted the Canadians and troops of the Marine, who also were protected by abattis. Along the whole front each battalion had behind it a company of grenadiers and a picket, as a reserve, either to support the battalion or to be posted where there should be need. The Chevalier de Lévis had command of the right, the Sieur de Bourlamaque of the left, and the Marquis de Montcalm remained in the centre to be in communication with all points."

The strength of the French line is given as 3506, of whom only 250 were Canadians and 15 Indians. Moreover, the second battalion of Berry occupied the fort in the rear.

"At half-past twelve the English Army defiled before us. . . . The left

1758. August, "you upon receipt of this packet, and, if any thing should "occur in the farther course of this campaign, you shall hear "from me again; but I [152] presume, the French General

received the first attack, made by two columns, one of which attempted to turn the entrenchment, bringing itself under the fire of the regiment of La Sarre, whilst the other directed its efforts against a salient between Languedoc and Berry. The centre, where the Royal Roussillon was posted, was attacked at almost the same time by a third column; and a fourth bent its attack towards the right between Béarn and La Reine. Between these various columns their light troops and sharp-shooters were scattered, who from behind the trees directed on us a most deadly fire. At the beginning of the battle some of the enemy's boats and pontoons approached on the *Rivière de la Chute*. Bernard's and Duprat's volunteers stationed there received them warmly. The Sieur de la Poulharies, at the head of a company of grenadiers and of a picket of Royal Roussillon, proceeded thither; and, after two of the boats had been smashed by the guns of the fort, they retreated, and did not again appear.

"These different attacks were maintained during almost the whole afternoon, and at almost every point, with the greatest vigour.

"As the Canadians and colony troops were not attacked, they fired on the column attacking our right, when it came within range of their trenches. The Chevalier de Lévis sent successively the Sieur d'Hert, Captain and Adjutant, and Captain Desnoes, of the Regiment de la Reine, to order the more active among them to make two sorties and take that column in flank. The column, made up of English grenadiers and Scottish Highlanders, returned unceasingly to the charge, neither becoming disheartened nor breaking ranks, and many were killed at fifteen paces from our abattis. The Chevalier sent orders twice to the Canadians and troops of the Marine to make a sortie and flank attack.

"About five o'clock the column which had been briskly attacking Royal Roussillon threw itself on the salient defended by the regiment of Guyenne and by the left of that of Béarn. The column which had attacked La Reine and Béarn with the greatest tenacity, also turned to that point, so that there the danger became pressing.

"The Chevalier de Lévis hurried with some troops from the right, where now the enemy were confining themselves to musketry. The Marquis de Montcalm also ran up with some reserve troops, and the enemy experienced a resistance which finally abated their fury.

"All this time the left was sustaining the fire of the two columns which were attempting to penetrate on that side, on which likewise was their depot. M. de Bourlamaque had been dangerously wounded there about four o'clock, and the Sieurs de Senezergues and de Privas, Lieutenant-Colonels of La Sarre and Languedoc, supplied his loss by giving most capable directions. The Marquis de Montcalm went there several times and paid attention to sending reinforcements at every critical moment; for during the whole battle the grenadier companies and reserve pickets constantly supported the points hardest pressed.

"About six o'clock the two columns on the right abandoned the attack on

"will cut out such work for us, as will oblige our forces "to act on the defensive. 1758. August.

"Loss of the Army before the lines of Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.	Regulars.			Provincials.		
	K.	W.	M.	K.	W.	M.
"Brigadier-Generals . . .	1	...	...	...	...	...
"Colonels and Lieut.-Colonels .	2	...	...	1	3	...
"Majors	4	2	...	...	...	...
"Captains	5	26	...	1	6	...
"Lieutenants	10	28	2	5	9	...
"Ensigns	5	9	...	...	1	...
"Engineers	1	...	...	...	...	...
"Adjutants	...	1	...	1	...	...
"Quarter-Masters . . .	1	2	...	...	...	...
"Serjeants	14	44	1	4	15	1
"Rank and file and Drummers .	424	1005	27	75	206	8
Total . . .	467	1117	30	87	240	9
Total Regulars and Provincials } 1950." [1]						

Guyenne and came to make another attempt on the centre against Royal Roussillon, and, finally, a last effort on the left. At seven o'clock the hostile army abandoned all thought of anything but retreat, in which it was covered by the fire of the light troops, which continued till night-fall. . . .

"The 21st of August, 1758. . . . A cross erected at the foot of the entrenchments with this inscription:

"'*Chrétien! ce ne fut point Montcalm et sa prudence,*
Ces arbres renversés, ces héros, leurs exploits,
Qui, des Anglois confus, ont brisé l'espérance,
C'est le bras de ton Dieu vainqueur sur cette croix.

"'*Quid dux? Quid miles? Quid strata ingentia ligna?*
En signum! En victor! Deus hic, Deus ipse triumphat.'"

—*Collection de Lévis*, vol. vii. 396–436.

[1] These numbers agree almost exactly with those enclosed in Abercromby's despatch to Pitt dated July 12, 1758 (*Canadian Archives*, M. 209-1 : C.O. 5 : 50; formerly A. & W.I. 87-1). There the totals are: Regulars—killed, 464; wounded, 1117; missing, 29. Provincials—killed, 87; wounded, 239; missing, 8.

1758. August. An extract of a letter from fort Cumberland, to another gentleman of this garrison, dated July 5, 1758.

"On Wednesday the 28th of June, at night, the enemy "carried off from Mr. Allen, sutler here, nine bullocks; and "early on Thursday morning Colonel James detached Lieu- "tenant Meech[1] and fifty-five men (all of the ranging com- "pany) in five whale-boats, to sail up the river Pitscordiac,[2] in "order to intercept the enemy's crossing the river that night "at low-water. On Monday night Mr. Meech parted with "two of his boats, in a gale of wind. On the morning of "the 30th he went up the river with three of his boats, "landed with thirty-six men on the N. E. shore, and marched "along the river-side till he discovered a body of about "forty of the enemy, and advanced to attack them, upon "which they made a great cry and ran off: Mr. [153] "Meech pursued them for some time; but, not being able "to come up with them, he returned in quest of the boats "that parted from him the night before. As he was coming "down the river, he met the boats, with Captain Danks,[3]

[1] See p. 376, note.

[2] The old form of this was Petcoudiak, and the older French Acadians of to-day still use this form. It is now called Petitcodiac.

[3] Captain Benonie Danks was in command of a company of Rangers during the siege of Louisbourg, and also at Quebec. In 1761 he received a commission in the regular army with the rank of Captain. He appears to have been one of the most daring officers in the service, and particularly energetic in attacking the Indians. On one occasion his company was almost annihilated, and those who escaped were unfit for further service, although he himself does not seem to have suffered any great injury. The Rangers as a body were not over scrupulous in the matter of taking scalps; but the following extract from a letter of the Rev. Hugh Graham, referring to the siege of Louisbourg, although not written till 1791, shows that all the Rangers did not approve the methods:

"A Party of the Rangers, a Regiment chiefly employed in scouring the Country of the deluded French who had unfortunately fallen under the Bann of British Policy, came upon 4 French Men, who had with all possible Caution ventur'd out from their Skulking Retreats to pick up some of their straggling Cattle or hidden Treasure. The solitary few, the pitiable four had just sate down, weary & faint, on the Bank [of] a Stream in order to refresh ymselves with some Food and Rest, when this Party of the Rangers surprizd & apprehended

"Lieutenant Walker,[1] and forty men (all of the rangers) 1758. August.
"with a Serjeant, Corporal, and twelve privates of the 43d
"regiment, in an armed sloop, which the Colonel had sent
"out on Friday morning (30th) in order to cover and support
"Lieutenant Meech and his party. Upon the Captain's join-
"ing the whole command, he sailed up the river, and came to
"an anchor that night. On Saturday morning (July 1st)
"Captain Danks, with the two Lieutenants and seventy-
"five men, landed, marched into the woods, and directed
"the sloop to sail up the river close to the N. E. shore, in
"order to decoy the enemy, and then attack them, which
"answered their expectations[2]: for about twelve o'clock the

them. And as there was a Bounty on Indian Scalps [a Blot on Britain's Escutcheon] the Soldiers soon made the supplicating Signal, the Officers turn'd their Backs and the French were instantly shot and scalp'd. A Similar Instance happened about the same time. A Party of the Rangers brought in one day 25 Scalps pretending that they were Indian. And the Commanding Officer at the Fort then Col. Wilmot, afterwards Gov: Wilmot [a poor Tool], gave Orders that the Bounty should be paid them. Captn Huston who had at that time the Charge of the Military Chest objected such Proceedings both in the Letter & Spirit of them. The Col: told him 'That According to Law the French were all out of the French [*sic*], that the Bounty on Indian scalps was according to Law, and that tho' the Law might in some Instances be strain'd a little yet there was a Necessity for winking at such things.' Upon wc Huston in Obedience to Orders paid down £250, telling them that the Curse of God should ever attend such guilty Deeds. . . . It was observ'd that these Rangers almost without Exception clos'd their days in Wretchedness and particularly a Captain Danks, who ever rode to the Extreme of his Commission in every barbarous Proceeding. In the Cumberland Insurrection (late war) he was suspected to be Jack on both Sides of the Bush left Cumberland (that place) in a small Jigger bound for Windsor, was taken ill on the Passage, thrown into the hold among the ballast was taken out at Windsor half dead, and had little better than the burial of a Dog. He liv'd under a general Dislike & died without [one] to regret his Death."

This document is found in the Nova Scotia Papers, *Canadian Archives*, M. 651 A. (Brown Collection in British Museum, Add. MSS. 19071), and is printed exactly as found. The MSS. agrees with the printed version in N.S. Historical Papers, 1879.

[1] A Captain-Lieutenant John Walker of Goreham's Rangers was on the half-pay list in 1782.

[2] This was probably at Moncton, for there are traditions among the old people about a fight with the English there in which many French were drowned when trying to cross the river. (*Professor Ganong.*)

1758. August. "same day, thirty of the enemy came down to meet the sloop, "and fired upon her;—the Captain, with the main body, who "were within them on the shore under cover of the woods, "hearing their fire, instantly flew down with his party, and "surrounded them, took nine prisoners, killed and scalped "three, drove fourteen into the river, ten of whom were "drowned, four swam a-cross the river, and the rest made "their escape, under cover of a large dike in the marsh. As "soon as Captain Danks had secured his prisoners, and "nineteen stands of arms belonging to them, he returned, "with his party, on board the sloop, and lay at anchor that "night. The next day (July 2d) he sailed up the river, and "was fired upon from both sides: Lieutenants Walker and "Meech landed about ten o'clock with sixty men, and, upon "their landing, the enemy ran off, and the party marched "to a neighbouring village, which they burned, with several "barrels of wheat and pork; destroyed their gardens, brought "off their household furniture, with forty sheep and lambs, "and twenty-two pigs; killed three bullocks, with five horses; "after which, the party returned on board with [154] their "plunder. In the afternoon of the same day Captain Danks, "with Lieutenant Meech and seventy men, landed on the "south-west shore, went up the river, and marched several "miles up the country, but could not discover any thing; "upon which the Captain returned to their sloop, and reached "fort Cumberland on the 4th instant, with all his party, "prisoners, and plunder; and had not a man of his whole "detachment killed or wounded."

Here follows an extract of a second letter from the same Officer, "dated fort Cumberland, July 17, 1758.

N.B. This letter relates to the occurrences of the 6th, 7th, and 8th of December last.

——"Yet I could not let slip this opportunity of "acquainting you that Rookins, of the General's company, and

"Samuel Ewen, of Captain Talbot's,[1] who were made prisoners 1758. August.
"on the 6th of December last, came in here from Mirrimichi
"(a settlement which the enemy have in this province, in the
"Gulph of St. Lawrence;) they with Newman of Captain
"Talbot's, Simon Murphy and John Miller, of Captain Mait-
"land's Company, who were made prisoners on the same day,
"with seven rangers and sailors, broke out of a house where
"they had been confined at Mirrimichi, on the 8th instant.
"Five only of this number are arrived here, and the other seven
"turned back, not being able to march so great a way. Daly,
"who deserted from Colonel James's company on the first or
"second of April last, is also there, as well as Mr. Eason the
"Master-Carpenter, and Lieutenant Dixon of the rangers.[2]
"Rookins tells us, that, as they were resting themselves, on
"the 6th of December, after cutting wood, they were sur-
"rounded, and fired upon, by fifteen of the enemy; grena-
"dier Miller was killed on the spot; Arnold shot through
"both his wrists, and soon after dispatched; and Rookins
"slightly wounded, who, with three other soldiers and Mr.
"Eason, were made prisoners, and dragged, that night, about
"nine miles into [155] the woods, on the river-side; there
"they remained until next morning; they left a centry up
"in a tree, who discovered Captain Pigou's party marching
"out that night, and brought them an account of it; where-
"upon they gave their signals of alarm. Early on the 7th,
"they took their prisoners to a little hut in the woods opposite
"to Renne Forêt river, and there confined them. All that
"day and night they were firing signals and collecting their
"force; before day-light, on the 8th, they got to the same
"side of the river with our detachment, and took possession

[1] James Talbot, appointed Captain in the 43rd Regiment, February 2, 1757.

[2] In the *Journal of John Witherspoon* (a settler at Annapolis who was taken prisoner in 1757) this entry is found, undated: "When I came [to Miramichi] I met with two English prisoners, the one was Lieut. Dickson, of the Rangers, the other Alexander Mill, they were taken at Fort Cumberland the 20th July before." —*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, ii. 31. See also p. 116.

1758. August. "of the fatal pass, where they waited till you returned: "they owned themselves to be fifty-six in number; that they "had seven men killed, four men slightly, and five des- "perately wounded, and that they would have run off, after "they gave us the first fire, on seeing our party so large, "had they not heard our men cry out,—*Retreat*, *Retreat*. "They did not take a prisoner, so that it is natural to think "they killed all our wounded men (if they did not give them- "selves the *Coup Mortel*, for the enemy did not return there "until the morning of the 10th).—During the encounter, "our men, who were prisoners in the hut on the other side of "Annapolis river, hearing the fire, asked the guard, that was "left with them,—What was the matter? They replied,—it "was a party they had sent out to bring in some red bullocks "(alluding to the colour of our cloathing;) however, they "acknowledge this affair by no means answered their expecta- "tions.—In four days after, our prisoners were sent to Pit- "scordiac, and from thence to Mirrimichi, where they have "been ever since, living on salt-fish and tallow only.—Bois "Hibert is gone to Cape Breton with sixty regulars and a "large body of irregulars; they had no chief on Annapolis "river, and were only a party that went there to get some "cattle, or provisions of any kind; one of the enemy, who "was kinder to our prisoners than any of the rest, told "them, it was well for them that father Loutre[1] was gone

[1] L'Abbé John Louis Le Loutre, son of John Maurice Le Loutre, sieur Despré, and of Catherine Huet, was born on September 26, 1709, and baptized on the following day, in the church of Saint Mathieu, Morlaix. He studied at the Seminaire du Saint Esprit, Paris, and was ordained priest about the year 1725. Some years after, he joined the Seminaire des Missions Etrangères at Paris. At this time the Abbé St. Poncy was parish priest at Annapolis, but he did not agree with Armstrong, the Governor. Armstrong therefore made application to the Governor of Louisbourg for a priest to replace St. Poncy. The request of the Governor was sent to Des Combes, superior of the Seminaire des Missions Etrangères, who offered the post to Le Loutre, and Le Loutre accepted. He arrived in Louisbourg in 1737, and there met the

"out of the country, for, that if he was there, they would 1758. August.
"[156] have met with a much harder fate. The Com-
"mandant of their militia (as these banditti call them-

Abbé Maillard, missionary to the Micmacs, and passed the winter of 1737–38 with him, studying the language of the Micmacs. Towards the end of the year 1738, Le Loutre went as missionary to the Micmacs, residing at a place called Mouchkoudaubougouek, on the Chigabenakdy River. Le Loutre, with the consent of Armstrong, remained with the Indians. In 1744, when war was declared, the Indians of Nova Scotia, who were placed under the command of the Sieur de Belleisle, attacked the fort at Annapolis, and Le Loutre accompanied them as their chaplain. From that time he was always regarded with suspicion by the English. In the autumn of 1746 he went to France, and during the return voyage to Acadia in the following spring was taken prisoner and conveyed to Winchester, England. A short time after he was sent to France, and remained there till 1749. In that year he accompanied M. Desherbiers to Louisbourg to take possession of the fort under the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. He crossed over to the river Chigabenakdy to look after his mission, but learning that there was a price upon his head, removed with the Indians to Baye Verte. He urged a number of Acadians of the peninsula to leave their dwellings and seek a home on the isthmus of Chignecto, which the French claimed to be a part of Canada not ceded to Great Britain. Whether he unduly incited the Indians against the British it is difficult to judge; but he was regarded as a zealous and unscrupulous agent of France. The English documents of the time are burdened with complaints and he is charged with being responsible for most of the cruelties practised by the Indians. But the British seem to have permitted similar atrocities by the Indians under their control. French documents show that Le Loutre rescued many British prisoners from the Indians and paid their ransom; but on the other hand he has been charged with paying for their scalps. The use made of the Indians during the war does not appear to have been very creditable to either France or England. At the time of the siege of Beausèjour, June, 1755, Le Loutre was in the fort with Vergor and opposed the capitulation. The fort surrendered on June 16, and, a few hours before the English took possession, Le Loutre made his escape to Baye Verte, whence he and the Abbé Manach fled to Miramichi. A few days later he boarded a small vessel bound for Quebec, but the vessel was overtaken by an English trading ship and Le Loutre was taken prisoner to Portsmouth. He was transferred to Plymouth and shortly afterwards conveyed to Jersey, where he remained until after the Treaty of Paris in 1763. In 1765 he attended to the needs of the Acadians at St. Malo and induced seventy-eight families to settle at Belleisle-en-Mer. He had been given the title of Vicar-General by the Bishop of Quebec, about the year 1753, but he had no jurisdiction beyond the sphere of his mission in Acadia. He continued his work in France until his death at Morlaix in 1772.

"Le premier octobre mil sept cent soixante douze a été inhumé dans notre

1758. August. "selves) is one William Johnston,[1] a native of Annapolis, "whose mother was French, but his father British; and the "next to him was one Long, also British, formerly a sailor "and pilot in our service; Johnston is brother to the wife of "John Davis, of your garrison, whom he often visits, and you "may imagine has intelligence from:——our people have "found out that he was at Annapolis, some time before we "arrived there; lay in Davis's back house, and carried off "some cattle that belonged to Major Phillips.[2] It is not "more than six weeks since he was there, and brought

église le corps de noble et discret messire Jean Louis Le Loutre, prêtre, missionaire apostolique, vicaire général de Monseigneur l'Evèque de Québec, dans l'Acadie, décédé hier en odeur de sainteté, après avoir reçu les sacrements de l'Eglise, agé d'environ soixante et un an, originaire de la paroisse de Morlais, diocèse de Trègnier. La sépulture faite en présence de Messire Gabriel Joseph Beugeard, vicaire de cette paroisse, de M^tre^ Pierre Gustave Adolphe Giron, diacre sacristain, et de tout notre clergé et autres."—Copie intégrale de l'acte inscrit sur les registres de la paroisse de St. Léonard de Nantes: Archives de la Ville de Nantes. (The editor owes the copy of this record to the courtesy of M. Bourde de la Rogerie, Archiviste du Finistère.)

[1] William Johnston, born at Annapolis in 1722 and baptized January 30, 1725, under the name of Guillaume le fils, son of Guillaume le fils dit Johnston, and Elizabeth Corporon. William Johnston, the son, married at Rivière au Canard (now Canning), Maire Aucoin, and settled at Annapolis, on the Granville side. His brother was deported to the New England States in 1755, and returned to the Province of Quebec about twelve years later. Johnston escaped deportation and remained in the neighbourhood of the fort. About the year 1767 he took the oath of allegiance to King George III, and in 1768 with several Acadians obtained a grant of land at St. Mary's Bay. His name appears on a grant of land in 1775. He settled at Grosses Coques and built a mill which is still known as Johnston's mill. Between 1780 and 1790 he removed with his family to Bonaventure on the north shore of the Bay of Chaleurs, where he died, leaving several sons and daughters, who called themselves Acadians. A great-grandson, Urban, of St. Louis, Kent Co., N.B., who is now over ninety years of age, was the first Acadian of Kent County to be elected to the New Brunswick Legislature.

[2] Erasmus Phillips was Fort Major and Commissary of Stores at Annapolis. He married Anne Dyson, daughter of John Dyson. He became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 40th Regiment. He was also a member of the Council at Annapolis, and became Judge Advocate-General and a member of the Provincial Parliament. He was a nephew of Colonel Richard Phillips, for a long time Governor of Nova Scotia. His daughter married Captain Fenwick of the Royal Artillery.

"away most of your troublesome neighbours to join Bois "Hibert at Mirrimichi, so that probably many of them will "be taken, when Louisbourg falls; this Johnston is now on "a scout.—I am sorry to tell you that Mr. W——t's sloop "and the Endeavour schooner are both taken by a privateer "from St. John's river, manned mostly by Indians; the two "Masters of them are sent to Canada; they have fitted out "the two vessels to serve as privateers, and they are now "cruising at the mouth of the bay, which is a melancholy "circumstance for you there, as well as for us here: but we "must nevertheless hope, that we shall yet see better "days, &c." 1758. August.

In consequence of this letter respecting the rebel Johnston, and his brother-in-law John Davis, which is confirmed by Colonel James, in a letter to our Commanding Officer here, the said Davis was instantly arrested, and committed to close confinement; all his books and papers were seized, and centinels placed on the fore and back doors of his house.—This man was formerly a Serjeant in the army, has resided here many years, and has been hitherto reputed an honest trusty person; is by trade a Bricklayer and Mason, in which capacities he has been always employed by the government, and in constant pay at twenty-one shillings *per* week: however, [157] the Directors have now struck him off the list, and his licence for retailing spirituous liquors is taken from him.

A Council was held this day, and all the fore-mentioned prisoners' papers closely examined.—Adjourned. 21st.

We have various accounts from Louisbourg by the way of Boston, but nothing interesting or material.

Our weather now (we are told) is as hot as it is in the West-Indies; for my own part, I think it exceeds any thing I have ever felt before; if it is possible, the musketa's are more troublesome, than we had even reason to complain of, last summer, at fort Cumberland. 24th.

1758. August. 27th. Two of the enemy came this morning to Mayass-Hill under a flag of truce; the Fort-Major went out with a Corporal and six men from the main-guard, and asked them their business; they replied, 'To see if ye will barter with us; it will be an act of charity, for we are in great distress for provisions, and have got a choice parcel of peltry.' The Major answered—'He believed they were not yet driven to the ultimate of their miseries, and that, whatever happened to increase them, they were of their own seeking, and justly inflicted by Divine Providence, for their unparallelled ingratitude, insolence, and barbarity; (and added) be gone instantly, or I will make a signal to the blockhouse to fire at you.' They immediately departed much dissatisfied.

We have had nipping frosts for several mornings past.

September. 2d. Our little garrison are daily employed in cutting wood and digging sand; there cannot be greater slaves than our poor soldiers are here; yet they patiently submit to it, as their Officers take their share of the burden, and in hopes of being yet relieved, and of joining the army; undoubtedly our lot here is very mortifying, and a natural propensity to variety, peculiar to military men, renders it much more irksome; to this I may add the great scarcity of books for our entertainment, which we often lament; and, in short, the [158] want of more manly employment, and rational amusement, serves to heighten our discontent.

6th. This day a sloop arrived from Boston, and, as soon as she came near to the wharf, the troops and town's-people eagerly ran down to inquire for news: every soul was now impatient, yet shy of asking; at length the vessel being come near enough to be spoken to, I called out—'What news from Louisbourg?' to which the Master simply replied, and with some gravity,—'Nothing strange.' This answer, which was so coldly delivered, threw us all into great consternation, and we looked at each other without being able to speak; some of us even

turned away, with an intent to return to the fort.* At length one of our soldiers, not yet satisfied, called out with some warmth,—'Damn you, Pumkin,—is not Louisbourg taken yet?' The poor New-England man then answered—'taken! ay, above a month ago, and I have been there since: but, if you have never heard it before, I have got a good parcel of letters for you now.'—If our apprehensions were great at first, words are insufficient to express our transports of joy at this speech, the latter part of which we hardly waited for; but instantly all hats flew off, and we made the neighbouring woods resound with our cheers and huzzas, for almost half an hour. The Master of the sloop was amazed beyond expression, and declared he thought we had heard of the success of our arms to the eastward before, and had sought to banter him. 1758. September.

Among the letters that were now handed on shore, I had the satisfaction to receive my wished for packet; but shall postpone any notice of it, until I have inserted some extracts of the general Orders, that were published before the army sailed; at landing; and in the course of the siege, *viz.*

[159] "Halifax, May the 12th.

"The standing orders of America are to be given to "Amherst's regiment, to Anstruther's when they arrive, to the "artillery, and to any detachments, that may be ordered from "the fleet, whenever they join the army. The regiments in- "tended to serve upon the expedition against Louisbourg, "under the command of Major-General Amherst, are

"The 1st, 15th, 17th, 22d, 28th, 35th, 40th, 45th, 47th, "48th, 58th, 2d and 3d battalions of the 60th, and 78th of "Highlanders.

* We had still farther cause of diffidence, and dejection; for the last and only accounts we have hitherto received from the eastward were by a vessel from Boston, and were by no means favourable; she left the fleet and army at Cape Breton, about the latter end of June.—*Note by author.*

1758. September. "The Brigadiers-General are Whitmore,[1] Lawrence, and "Wolfe.[2]

"Lieutenant Isaac Barrè,[3] of the 32d regiment, is ap- "pointed a Major of brigade to this army.

[1] Edward Whitmore, born in England in 1691, was probably a son of Arthur Whitmore of York. He entered the army and served in the War of the Austrian Succession. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 36th Regiment in 1747. In July, 1757, he was made Colonel of the 22nd Regiment, and in the following year raised to the rank of Brigadier-General. After the surrender of Louisbourg in 1758, he was left there as military governor. In December, 1761, on a voyage to Boston, his ship had to put into Plymouth harbour to seek shelter from contrary winds, and Whitmore, going on deck at midnight, accidently fell overboard and was drowned. His body was taken up next morning and carried to Boston. He was interred with military pomp in the King's Chapel, December 16, 1761.

[2] James Wolfe was born at Westerham, Kent, January 2, 1727. He was a son of Colonel Edward Wolfe, who had served with Marlborough in Flanders, and of Henrietta Thompson, of Marsden, Yorkshire. On November 3, 1741, he was given his first commission, that of second Lieutenant in his father's regiment of Marines. In 1742 he was attached as Ensign to Duroure's regiment, and went with it to the Continent to take part in the War of the Austrian Succession. Already at the age of sixteen he was acting as Adjutant. He fought with his regiment at Dettingen in 1743, and a few days later was appointed Adjutant, and given his commission as Lieutenant. In 1744, when only seventeen years old, he became Captain in the 4th, or King's Regiment of Foot. This same year his only brother Edward died, partly as a result of hardships endured in the campaign. Wolfe returned to England in 1745 to oppose the forces of Charles Edward, and served as Brigade-Major at the battle of Falkirk, where his father was General of Division. He also took part in the crushing of the insurrection at Culloden in the following spring. He returned to the Continent early in 1747, and fought at Laffeldt, where he was wounded. On January 5, 1749, he was gazetted as Major of the 20th Regiment, then doing garrison duty in Scotland. On March 20, 1751, he was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of his regiment. In 1753 his regiment was transferred to England. In 1756 he was appointed Quartermaster-General for Ireland. His first service in the Seven Years' War was as Quartermaster-General in an unsuccessful expedition against Rochfort on the French coast in September, 1757. Wolfe's testimony in the subsequent inquiry attracted to him favourable attention from the highest quarters. On October 21 he received the rank of Colonel. The following year he was chosen by Pitt to be Brigadier in the Louisbourg expedition. After the fall of Louisbourg and the destruction of the French villages in Gaspé, Wolfe returned to England. On November 22 he wrote to Pitt offering to serve next year in America, and particularly in the St. Lawrence. Pitt replied by giving him the rank of Major-General in America, and the command of the projected expedition against Quebec.

[3] See p. 331, note 2.

Major Gen.l James Wolfe,
COMMANDER in Chief of his Majesty's FORCES
on the Expedition against Quebec.

Engraved by Richard Houston from the painting by Schaak

"As soon as the Commanding Officers have provided their 1758. September.
"corps with a sufficient quantity of necessaries for the cam-
"paign (shoes and stockings in particular) they are to order
"the men's accounts to be made up, and report it to the
"Commander in Chief, who will give directions for their
"being cleared. All Commanding Officers of corps are desired
"to be at the head quarters, at orderly time to-morrow, with
"reports in writing of their condition, of that of their arms,
"ammunition, and camp equipage; and how their men are
"provided with shoes, and what measures are taken to pro-
"cure what may yet be wanting. The Commanders of the
"regiments already embarked are to report, what number of
"men the boats of their transports will conveniently contain.
"As the troops are of different establishments, the duty is to
"be regulated in the most exact manner, having regard to
"their strength, and allowing to such corps as have detach-
"ments not likely to join, for the numbers detached. A
"body of light infantry will be formed, from the different
"corps, to act as irregulars; the regiments, that have been
"any time in America, are to furnish such as have [160] been
"most accustomed to the woods, and are good marksmen;
"and those from Europe are to furnish active marchers, and
"men that are expert at firing ball; and all in general must
"be alert, spirited soldiers, able to endure fatigue. Some
"corps are to give a Lieutenant and forty men, others a
"Lieutenant and thirty men, except the Highlanders, who
"are to furnish one hundred.—The rangers, and light in-
"fantry, appointed to act as rangers, are to be commanded
"by Major Scott,[1] till farther orders. A list of the volun-
"teers, in every corps, to be given in to-morrow at orderly
"time, distinguishing their time of service in their respective
"corps."

[1] George Scott, Captain of the 40th Regiment, June 1751; Major, December 1758; and Lieutenant-Colonel in 1761.

"May 13.

1758. September. "The companies of grenadiers are forthwith to be completed, and kept constantly complete; such grenadier companies as are armed with light swords are to take them into the field with them; but none of the battalion companies are to have swords. Battalions will be furnished with seventy rounds of fresh ammunition; the men are to make up their own cartridges, and must be careful that they go easily into their pieces, also to avoid too great a quantity of powder. The non-commissioned Officers and soldiers are ordered to pay the Admiral and Captains of the royal navy the compliment of the hat, and, when on duty, to pay them that respect which is due to their rank. A detachment of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, three Serjeants, three Corporals and one hundred men, from the three additional companies of Highlanders, are to disembark, and join the rangers under the command of Major Scott. It is recommended to the Commanding Officers to exercise their men, and prepare them, in the best manner the time will permit, for the ensuing campaign; those on board are to be kept extremely clean in their ships, carried frequently on shore, and all possible means used to preserve them in health and vigour."

"May 14.

"One Captain, three Subalterns, two Drummers, and one hundred men, with non-commissioned in proportion, out of such of the third battalion of Royal Americans as are under articles of capitulation, are to hold themselves in readiness to embark at a moment's warning to relieve the troops now doing duty at Lunenberg. A Subaltern, two Serjeants, and thirty rank and file of the Highland additional companies, with six days' provisions, to march to-morrow to fort Edward, to relieve the detachment there; one Subaltern,

"one Serjeant, and twenty men of Capt. Goreham's rangers "to guide that detachment through the woods, and to return "with the relief; they are also to have six days' provisions. "The regiments doing duty in garrison are to leave here "(at Halifax) one Captain, two Subalterns, four Serjeants, "four Corporals, two Drummers, and one hundred men fit "for duty." 1758. September.

"May 16.

"Brigadier-Major Scott, being appointed to command the "light troops, Lieutenant Dobson,[1] of General Lascelles's regi- "ment, is appointed Major of brigade, till farther orders. "Such of the thirty-fifth regiment as are under articles of "capitulation are to hold themselves in readiness to relieve "the out-posts of fort Sackville, Dartmouth, and the eastern "battery, &c. The Commanding Officers on board of the "transports are to give in a return to the Admiral, as soon "as possible, of the state of the provisions, and water, on "board their respective ships."

"May 17.

"The light infantry are forthwith to exchange their heavy "arms for those of the Artillery, and of the additional com- "panies of Colonel Fraser's Highlanders, that are to remain in "Nova Scotia, to the number of about 470; receipts are "mutually to be taken for the same; and any loss sustained, "on either part, is to be [162] made good, according to a "price to be fixed. All the light infantry and rangers, under "Major Scott, to be furnished immediately with seventy rounds "per man of ammunition; which they are to demand from, "and give receipts to Colonel Williamson, the Commanding "Officer of the Artillery; the army are likewise to be com- "pleted to fifty rounds, and three flints per man, except the "Highlanders, who are to have seventy rounds."

[1] Henry Dobson, Lieutenant in the 47th Regiment of Foot, June 27, 1755; apparently transferred as Captain to the 16th Regiment, February 28, 1766.

"May 18.

1758. September. "Major Robertson, of the Royal American regiment,[1] is "appointed by General Abercromby, Commander in Chief of "his Majesty's forces in North-America, Deputy Quarter-"Master-General to this army.

"The following orders, given by General Abercromby, at "New-York, April 20, 1758, are to be strictly obeyed:

"When the troops are on board their transports, they are "to be upon the same allowance of provisions as last year, "according to the printed tables, viz. six, to four men's allow-"ance, both Officers and men, which is two thirds allowance in "the navy. After they disembark, the men to have their full "allowance, according to the Contractor's agreement; but all "Officers, whatever, from the day of their regiments' embarka-"tion, or taking the field, until the day of entering into winter "quarters, are to have only one ration per day. And the "order of the 26th of November last, for the allowance given "in lieu of provisions, to cease upon embarkation of the "regiments or companies.

"Mr. Robert Porter is appointed Deputy-Paymaster to the "expedition."

"May 20.

"The barracks, evacuated by the 45th regiment, being "prepared as an hospital for the reception of the sick that are "unable to proceed on the expedition; every corps is forth-"with to send their sick to that hospital, where the Deputy-"Director will receive [163] them. Major Morris, of the "35th regiment,[2] is appointed to do duty at Halifax."

[1] James Robertson, appointed Major of the 60th Regiment, December 26, 1755; appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, July 8, 1758; given command of the 15th Regiment with that rank on February 25, 1760; transferred to the 16th Regiment, August 17, 1768.

[2] Major Roger Morris had a distinguished military career. He was born in England, January 28, 1717. In 1755 he was a Captain in the 48th Regiment and an aide-de-camp to General Braddock. In the disastrous encounter with

"May 22.

"Experience having discovered, that ginger and sugar, 1758. September.
"mixed with the water of America, prevent the ill effects of "it, and preserve the men from fevers and fluxes better than "any thing else, yet found out; Brigadier-General Lawrence "does, therefore, in the strongest manner recommend the "use of this discovery to the troops.—Any of the volunteers "that chuse to serve with the light troops, until the trenches "are opened, are at liberty to do it, taking care to be pro-"vided with a cloak, a blanket, and a good quantity of "ammunition."[1]

the French near Fort Duquesne, in which Braddock was mortally wounded, the two aides-de-camp, Orme and Morris, were also wounded. Early in 1758, Roger Morris exchanged into the 35th Regiment, in which he served under Colonel Otway at the siege of Louisbourg, and afterwards with Brigadier Monckton at the river St. John. He was left in command of Fort Frederick during the winter of 1758–9. The next year he was with Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, and rendered efficient service a little later at the battle of Sillery. When he retired from the army in 1764 he was a Lieutenant-Colonel. He went to New York and was appointed a member of the Executive Council of the province.

Shortly before the siege of Louisbourg he married Mary Philipse, of New York, a lady renowned for her beauty and accomplishments, who is believed to have refused an offer of marriage from no less a personage than George Washington. Her sister, Susannah Philipse, married Colonel Beverly Robinson. During the American Revolution, the State of New York passed an Act by which fifty-nine individuals were proscribed and banished, and their estates forfeited to the people of the State. This list included the names of Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York, and Margaret, his wife; Colonel Roger Morris and Mary, his wife; Colonel Beverly Robinson and Susannah, his wife. The ladies mentioned are the only women known to have been attainted for treason by any of the States. They, in common with their husbands, were declared to be for ever banished, and in case of return to be adjudged and declared guilty of felony and to suffer death. The crime laid to the charge of the unfortunate ladies was that of adhering to the enemies of the States, that is to say, of not abandoning their husbands. The real motive of the vindictive New York Legislature was to get possession of their estates. That of Mary (Philipse) Morris eventually passed into the hands of the Astor family, and was to a considerable extent the foundation of their fortunes. Mrs. Morris survived her husband, and died at York, in England, in 1825, at the age of ninety-five years.—W. O. Raymond, *The River St. John*, pp. 239–241.

[1] This order is found in the *Journal kept by —— Gordon*, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. v. 105.

"May 23.

1758. September. "One hundred pioneers are to be sent forthwith on board "the Restoration transport, where a spade and pickax for each "man will be sent by the Commanding Officer of the Artillery, "who is also to send on board the said ship two light pieces of "cannon, with the necessary ammunition, and a proportionable "detachment from the Artillery. The Commanding Officer "of the Artillery is to receive into his stores, from Colonel "Messervey, 500 pick-axes, 300 felling-axes, together with "the cross-cut saws that were provided by direction of the "Earl of Loudoun, and since ordered for the service of this "expedition by Major-General Abercromby.

"Nets, lines, hooks, and other fishing tackling, are put on "board the sloop York, for the service of the troops, and will "be delivered, when wanted, for that purpose.

"The regiments to be employed upon the present expedi- "tion are put into brigades, in the following manner:

"First brigade commanded by Colonel ——.

"1st, 47th, 2d battalion of the 60th, and 28th.

"Second brigade commanded by Colonel Murray.

"15th, 35th, 40th, and 78th.

[164] "Third brigade commanded by Colonel Burton.

"17th, 58th, and 48th.

"Fourth brigade commanded by Colonel Wilmott.[1]

"45th, 3d battalion of the 60th, and 22d.

"The first and third brigades compose the right wing of the army: the second and fourth compose the left wing."

The reader will be pleased to observe, that these are only extracts of the most material orders, published at Halifax by the Brigadiers Whitmore and Lawrence, preparatory to the expedition; those that I have omitted related mostly to the

[1] Montague Wilmot was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 45th Regiment of Foot on April 8, 1755. He became Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1760, and Governor-in-Chief in 1764. He died at Halifax on May 23, 1776.

duty of the place, the embarking of the troops, and the frequent disembarking of them, by brigades, for exercise, and for the preservation of the health of the men; upon the whole, by those which I have not thought necessary to insert, it appears, that every measure was taken by the three Brigadiers, and the Field-Officers of corps, to render the army as expert, for any kind of service, as prudence and experience could dictate, or human foresight could require. 1758. September.

Admiral Boscawen seems also, by his directions, to have made every necessary disposition for the accommodation of the troops when afloat, and, in short, had ordered and conducted every thing in his department, with that zeal and activity so peculiarly characteristic of a good Officer.

The fleet and army sailed from Halifax on the 28th, and had the happiness to meet the Dublin off the harbour, on board of whom was General Amherst, Commander in Chief of the expedition; after their arrival in Gabarus bay, his Excellency published the following orders from on board the Namur, being the Admiral's own ship:

"June 3, 1758.

"The army is to land and attack the French in three "different bodies, and at three different places. All the "grenadiers and detachments of the right wing land upon the "right, in the bay, [165] within the White Point. The de- "tachments of the left wing land in two little bays, about "a mile and an half to the left of the White Point. The "light infantry, irregulars, and Highlanders are to land in "the fresh water Cove, in order to take the enemy in flank "and rear, and cut some of them off from the town. Men "of war are ordered to each of these places, to scour the "coast, and protect the troops at their landing. The grena- "diers are to be drawn up, as they lie in their brigades, upon "the right of the right attack, and to rendezvous in a line "behind a boat with a red flag, in which Brigadier Wolfe "will be. The detachments of the right wing are to assemble

1758. September. "in a line, as they are in their brigades, behind a boat with a "white flag, where Brigadier Whitmore will be. The detach- "ments of the left wing are to rendezvous in the same manner, "behind a boat with a blue flag, where Brigadier-General Law- "rence will command. The Highlanders, light infantry, and "irregulars are to rendezvous to the right of the island, lying "before the fresh water Cove, and to be ready to row into "the Cove, when the signal is given; the signal to row on "shore will be three guns from the Sutherland, repeated by "the Admiral. Although the Highlanders, light infantry, and "irregulars are a separate attack upon the left, yet, when they "land, they are to consider themselves as a part of the left "wing, and immediately under the command of Brigadier- "General Lawrence.

"Field-Officers for the right attack, for the grenadiers,— "Colonel Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, Majors "Farquar[1] and Murray.[2]

"Detachment of the right wing, Colonel Burton, Colonel "Foster, Majors Prevost[3] and Derby.[4]

"Field-Officers of the center attack, or detachments of "the left wing, Colonel Wilmott, Lieutenant-Colonel Hand- "field,[5] Majors Hamilton[6] and Hussey.[7]

[1] William Farquhar, appointed Major of the 15th Regiment, March 12, 1754.

[2] Alexander Murray, appointed Major of the 45th Regiment, October 1, 1755.

[3] Augustine Prevost, appointed Major of the 60th Regiment, January 9, 1756; Lieutenant-Colonel, March 20, 1761.

[4] John Darby, Major of the 17th Regiment, September 21, 1756; Lieutenant-Colonel, May 14, 1759.

[5] John Handfield was appointed Major of the 40th Regiment, October 15, 1754; Lieutenant-Colonel on March 18, 1758. He was a member of the Council of Nova Scotia. He married Elizabeth Winniet, and was commander of the garrison at Annapolis in 1755. His son, Thomas Handfield, married, at Quebec, January 7, 1764, Marion Poulin, and became the ancestor of the Handfields of Montreal.

[6] Frederick Hamilton, Major of the 2nd battalion of the 1st Regiment, May 7, 1757.

[7] John Hussey, appointed Captain, December 4, 1749; transferred with that rank to the 47th Regiment, February 10, 1753; Major, March 19, 1758.

[166] "All the remaining Field-Officers of the army are "to come on shore with the second disembarkation; as "Bragg's regiment is to be detached for a particular duty, "they are not to furnish grenadiers for the right attack, and "the whole Highland regiment is to be employed, with the "light infantry and irregulars, upon the left. 1758. September.

"Captain Amherst[1] and Captain D'Arcy are appointed to "act as Aids-de-Camp to Major-General Amherst. Lieut- "enant Tonge, of General Warburton's regiment,[2] is to attend "(as Engineer) on the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, on "the landing of the troops. Colonel Fraser's company of "grenadiers, in the Princess Amelia's boat, will row to join "their own regiment.

"The signal to prepare to land:—A red flag, with a blue "cross at the foretopmast-head of the Sutherland, and to be "repeated by the Namur."

"Namur, June 4.

"As the surf is so great, that the disposition for landing "in three divisions cannot take place, and as the men of war "cannot be carried near enough to the shore of the bay, within "the White Point, to cover the landing there: the General "(not to lose a moment's time) has thought proper to order, "that an attack be made upon the little intrenchments within "the fresh water Cove, with four companies of grenadiers, "followed by the light infantry and irregulars, who are to be "supported by the Highland regiment, and those by the re- "maining eight companies of grenadiers, that no body of men, "regular or irregular, may dare to stand a moment before "them: these detachments are to be commanded by Brigadier-

[1] William Amherst, brother of the Brigadier; he was appointed Lieutenant (with the rank of Captain) in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, September 21, 1757. See p. 459, note 3.

[2] Winkworth Tonge was appointed Lieutenant in the 45th Regiment on April 8, 1755. Hugh Warburton had been Colonel of this regiment since June 22, 1745; he had been created Lieutenant-General on January 29, 1758.

For other names in this order, see Index.

1758. September. "General Wolfe. The detachments of the left wing, under "Brigadier-General Lawrence, are to draw up, as was before "ordered, behind the frigates of the center attack, in readiness, "if the weather permits, to run a-shore upon the opposite "beach; or, if not, to follow the grenadiers, when [167] it is "judged necessary. The right wing to draw up to the right, "as in the orders of yesterday, opposite to the bay, that is, on "this side of the White Point, to fix the enemy's attention, or "to follow the troops of the left wing, when they shall receive "orders for that purpose. The boats of this division are to "keep out at a mile and an half, or two miles' distance from "the land, extending in a considerable length of line.

"As the grenadiers will now assemble towards the left "instead of the right, the Captains must be attentive to the red "flag in Brigadier Wolfe's boat, which is to be the center of "their line, and range themselves accordingly. The detach-"ments of the right wing must have the same attention to "Brigadier-General Whitmore's flag, and those of the left wing "to Brigadier Lawrence's flag, and the whole to assemble at "their different posts, immediately after the signal is made to "prepare to land. The four oldest companies of grenadiers "are to attack first; the Royal and Forbes's, under the com-"mand of Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, in the little bay upon "the right; Amherst's and Whitmore's, under the command "of Major Murray, in another little bay upon the left. The "Field-Officers and Captains of these four companies of "grenadiers will receive their particular instructions from "Brigadier Wolfe. After the grenadiers are landed, and "have taken post along the intrenchment, the light infantry "are to land, push forward into the wood, and force the "enemy's irregulars to retire."

"June 6, twelve o'clock.

"The troops are to return on board their transports, as "the surf on the shore is so great, that the Admiral thinks "they cannot be disembarked with any kind of safety."

"Namur, June 7.

"If the surf should be so great, that the troops cannot 1758. September.
"land this afternoon, the General intends to attack the enemy
"to-morrow at the dawn of day, unless the weather is so bad
"as to make [168] it impracticable. The boats are to as-
"semble in three divisions as before; the right wing at the
"Violet transport, where there will be three lights hung on
"the off side, near the water's edge; the left wing at the St.
"George transport, with two lights hung in the same manner;
"and the rendezvous of the grenadiers, &c. will be at the
"Neptune transport, where a single light will be hung out.
"As the General's intentions are to surprise the enemy, as
"well as attack them, he depends upon the care and vigilance
"of the Officers commanding in the transports, that his
"orders be strictly complied with.

"The troops are to be in their boats by two o'clock
"exactly. No lights are to be shewn in any of the transports,
"except the signals above-mentioned, after twelve o'clock at
"night, and there must be a profound silence throughout
"the whole army, and, above all things, the firing of even a
"single musket must be avoided. The men of war's boats
"will be sent to their respective transports, by one in the
"morning.

"The General is sufficiently convinced of the good disposi-
"tion of the troops, by what he has already seen; he desires
"they will not halloo, or cry out at landing, but be attentive to
"the commands of their Officers, by which they can never be
"put into any confusion, or fail of success; their Officers
"will lead them directly to the enemy.

"If the Admiral and General should think proper to alarm
"the enemy in the beginning of the night, the troops are to
"take no manner of notice of it, but prepare themselves to
"obey their orders, with great exactness, at the appointed time,

1758. September. "and so as to be ready to row off, from the three places of "rendezvous, a little before day-light." [1]

The enemy's coast was one continued chain of posts, from cape Noir to the flat point; some works were thrown up, and batteries erected at the most accessible places; all the cover from these in- [169] trenchments to the bottom of the bay, was full of irregulars. From the 2d instant (which was the day the fleet came to an anchor) to the 7th inclusive, they were reinforcing their posts, strengthening their works, cannonading and bombarding our ships, and making every preparation in their power to oppose the landing. The enemy, at first, behaved with great steadiness, reserving their fire until the boats were near in shore, and then poured in upon them with all their cannon and musquetry; they were commanded by Monsieur Colonel St. Julien.[2] At the landing, two Captains, two Lieutenants, and seventy French grenadiers were made prisoners; and the General reaped some advantage by the garrison's cannonading our troops in their pursuit, as they thereby pointed out to him the distance whereby he could incamp his army with safety from the range of their artillery.

As these particulars are not mentioned in the subsequent account of the landing of our troops, and of their operations in the course of the siege, I thought it necessary to introduce them here, in order to render the work relative to that important conquest more complete.

[1] This order and that of June 4 are given in the *Journal kept by —— Gordon*, in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. v. 110-114, where also is to be found a diagram of the order of landing.

[2] M. de St. Julien was Colonel in command of the 2nd battalion of the Regiment d'Artois. He went to Louisbourg with his regiment and a battalion of the Regiment de Bourgogne in 1755. On April 10 of that year he was appointed to command these two battalions under the Governor, M. de Drucour; and on September 1 was appointed to act as commandant of Ile Royale in the case of the death or absence of the Governor.

Camp before Louisbourg, June 8.

The army having gallantly possessed themselves of the island of Cape Breton, his Excellency General Amherst issued the following orders: 1758. September.

(N.B. Parole, KING GEORGE.)

"A Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major for picquet. "The piquets are to lie out all night, and to be posted by the "Field-Officers, partly in the front, but chiefly in the rear of "the camp; and then all the out-posts to be called in, except "the detachment at the Cove, with Colonel Burton."

"June 9.[1]

"All French prisoners are to be brought to Major-General "Amherst, in the rear of the center of the army. All the "tools, [170] that may have been taken in the different posts "of the enemy, to be collected together in the rear of the

[1] On the 9th the Marquis Desgouttes, Commander of the French squadron, called together the captains of his ships and asked their opinion as to the best course of action for the fleet, now that the enemy had effected a landing and a regular siege was about to begin. They were unanimously in favour of making a sortie in the hope of saving the King's ships at least. The Governor, the Chevalier de Drucour, was opposed to this resolution, and summoned a council of war, consisting of Franquet, the engineer, La Houllière, Commander of the troops in the garrison, and St. Julien, Marin, Danthonay, and Bonnaventure, colonels of battalions, at which a majority of votes was in favour of retaining the ships for assisting in the defence. Drucour accordingly issued an order to that effect to Desgouttes.—*Canadian Archives*, F. 173, pp. 90, 169 (C^{11} v. 10–1); see also Drucour to the Minister of Marine, June 10 and July 15, 1758; the *Journal du Chevalier Drucour*, *ibid.*, F. 171 (C^{11} iv. 38); and the *Journal du Chevalier de Tourville*, *ibid.*, F. 173-A (C^{11} v. 10–2). One ship, *Le Bizarre*, carrying supplies from France, escaped from the harbour this night to go to Quebec; on the night of the 10th or 11th the frigate *La Comette*, bearing despatches to France, escaped, and on the 13th the frigate *L'Echo* attempted to get out and proceed to Quebec; this last, however, was chased and captured by the English ships *Juno* and *Scarborough*. Meanwhile the frigate *L'Aréthuse* had anchored at the western end of the harbour, where she inflicted much damage on the besiegers. (Besides the Journals of Drucour and Tourville, there are two valuable French Journals in *Canadian Archives*, F. 173.)

1758. September. "Royal. Lieutenant Tonge will mark out the ground in the "rear of the regiments, where it may be necessary to throw "up any works; which each regiment will do for itself, taking "half the intervals to secure the whole rear of the camp.

"The first brigade consists of the Royal, 1st; Hopson's, "40th; Lawrence's, 3d battalion of the 60th; Webb's, 48th; "Whitmore's, 22d.

"Second brigade, Bragg's, 28th; Anstruther's, 58th; "Fraser's, 78th; Warburton's, 45th; Amherst's, 15th.

"Third brigade, Forbes's, 17th; Lascelles's, 47th; Monck-"ton's, 2d battalion of the 60th; Otway's, 35th.

"Brigadier-General Whitmore to have the inspection of the "first brigade.

"Brigadier-General Lawrence of the second.

"Brigadier-General Wolfe of the third.

"All reports from the regiments to be made to the Briga-"diers commanding the brigades, who will report them to "the Major-General.

"The Major-General incamps in the center of the army; "the Brigadier-Generals in the center of their respective "brigades; the Brigade-Majors in the rear of the center of "the army.

"Orderly time at ten o'clock.

"All the standing orders given out by his Royal Highness "the Duke *, of the duty in camp, to be strictly obeyed.

"The Admiral has promised to send the tents and pro-"visions on shore, as soon as possible."

* His late Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, Commander in Chief of the army, &c. &c. &c.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, the third son of George II, was born in London on April 15, 1721 (O.S.). He was educated for the navy, but his tastes were military. On December 31, 1742, he was made Major-General, and in the following year accompanied the King in the campaign on the Continent, and was wounded at Dettingen. In 1745 he was appointed Captain-General of the British land forces at home and in the field, an office dormant since Marlborough's time, and became honorary Commander-in-Chief of all the allied troops in the Netherlands. He was defeated by the

"June 10th.

"As there are an hundred and forty barrels of bread, and "an hundred and twelve casks of flour, each regiment is to "receive [171] ten barrels of bread and eight casks of flour, "and must immediately send seventy-two men per regiment, to "bring the above quantity to their regiments. A Subaltern "Officer and twenty men from each battalion, armed, and a "Captain per brigade, to serve as convoy to this detachment, to "march to the Cove, where the troops landed, and to apply to "Colonel Burton, who will deliver the above bread and flour, "they giving proper receipts for the same; this detachment "of twenty men to be taken from the piquet of each corps. "When the rear of the army is sufficiently secured against "the incursions of the barbarians, two or three small detach-"ments will be a sufficient guard for each regiment. All the "tents taken at the different posts, which were abandoned by "the enemy, are to be collected by Mr. Leslie, and given to "the five companies of rangers; the regiments are to furnish "tents for their own light infantry. The arms are to be put "into order with all possible diligence, and a return of the "deficiency of ammunition forthwith prepared." 1758. September.

"June 11th.

"A detachment of a Field-Officer, three Captains, eight "Subalterns, and three hundred men, with non-commissioned "Officers in proportion, to parade, to-morrow morning at

French under Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy on May 11. In the autumn he was recalled to oppose the rising under Charles Edward. On April 16, 1746, he defeated the insurgents at Culloden. His orders seem to have been partially responsible for the outrages which followed, from which he received the designation of "Butcher Cumberland." In 1747 he again commanded in the Netherlands, and, at the battle of Laffeldt, was again defeated by Saxe. In 1757 he commanded in Hanover, where he was defeated by the French, and on September 8 signed the convention of Kloster-Seven abandoning Hanover. He was severely blamed by the King, and, as a result, on October 15 resigned all his military offices. He died in 1765.

1758. September. "eight o'clock, in the rear of the center brigade, to take post "on this side of the Cove, where Colonel Burton's detachment "is, which he will march back to camp, as soon as relieved; "Lieutenant-Colonel Handfield for this duty. A report "from each regiment of what quantity of the six days' pro- "visions they have received from the transports. All the "volunteers of the army to serve with the light infantry, till "the trenches are opened; Major Scott is to dispose of them, "so that they may have some command, and act as Officers; "they will receive provisions with that corps. The regiments "are not to keep their arms loaded; when the charge cannot "be drawn, the men are to be collected, and fire them in the "presence of an Officer."

[172] (After orders, eight o'clock at night.)

"A Captain per brigade, and a Subaltern and twenty men "per regiment of the picquets of the first and third brigades, "to assemble to-morrow morning at day-break; those of the "first brigade in the front of the Royal; those of the third in "the center of the brigade, to be commanded by the Major "of the picquets, who will receive his orders from General "Amherst."

(Second after orders.)

"Four hundred of the light infantry and rangers are to "march this night, and to take post in the woods round the "upper part of the N. E. harbour, there lie in ambuscade, and "cover the march of the detachment of the army, which will "be ordered to take post at L'Orembec,[1] at the end of the "N. E. harbour, and upon Light-House point. The detach- "ment is to consist of four companies of grenadiers, viz. "35th, 40th, 45th, and 47th, under the command of "Lieutenant-Colonel Hale,[2] and of the following number of "men to be detached from every picquet.

[1] The Capes of Grand Lorembec and Petit Lorembec were on the coast of Cape Breton, a short distance north-east of the lighthouse.

[2] John Hale was born in 1728, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. His family trace their descent from "Nicholas de Hales, of Hales Place, one

1758. September.

Regiments.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.
1st	1	3	4	90
15th	1	3	4	90
17th	1	3	4	100
22d	1	3	4	90
35th	1	2	3	50
40th	1	2	3	80
45th	1	3	4	90
47th	1	3	4	90
48th	1	3	4	100
58th	1	2	3	50
2d battalion of Royal Americans	1	3	4	100
3d " "	1	3	4	90
78th " "	2	6	8	200
Detail	14	39	53	1220

[173] "These 1220 men are to be put into three brigades, "the first to be commanded by Colonel Morris, the second by "Colonel (Lord) Rollo, the third by Major Ross.

"The detachment of the right brigade are the 1st battalion; "those of the left brigade are the 2d battalion; those of the "center brigade are the 3d battalion; the grenadiers are the "van-guard of this detachment, preceded only by some of the

of whose sons, Sir Robert, Treasurer of England, Prior to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, temp. Edward III, 1381, was killed by the insurgents in Wat. Tyler's insurrection." He was appointed Major of the 47th Regiment on November 11, 1755; Lieutenant-Colonel, March 19, 1758. He was transferred to the 18th (later 17th) Regiment of Dragoons on November 7, 1759, and received the rank of Colonel, June 21, 1762. On May 25, 1772, he became Major-General, and on August 29, 1777, Lieutenant-General. He served with distinction at the head of his regiment in the battle of the Plains in 1759, and was sent home with the despatches announcing the victory. Shortly after his arrival, the King decided to raise several new regiments of Light Dragoons; the raising of one of these, then the 18th Light Dragoons, but now the 17th Lancers, was entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Hale. The regimental coat for the new corps was to be of scarlet with white facings, the lace white with a black edge, a sign of mourning for the death of Wolfe, and the badge, chosen by Hale and approved by the King, the death's-head and the motto, "Or Glory," was another commemoration of the hero of Quebec. See the *History of the Seventeenth Lancers*, by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue.

1758. September. "light infantry. They are to be formed into battalions upon "the left of each brigade, and march from thence by the left, "by files, to the general place of rendezvous. The rear rank "of each regiment is to serve as light infantry for their own "corps, and to move in a single file upon the left of the line "of march, at the distance of fifty or sixty yards. This "detachment is to have forty rounds of ammunition, as many "hatchets as can be spared from the regiments, at the rate of "a hatchet per man, or one for every two men; at least six "days' provisions, a tent, and camp necessaries for every "eight men; the Officers must be contented with the soldiers' "tents, till better provision can be made for them: The whole * "to assemble in the front of Amherst's to-morrow by five in "the morning, but so as not to be perceived from the town "or ships in the harbour."

"June 12.

"Each regiment to prepare a covered place for keeping "their provisions in, that, so soon as a communication from the "landing-place to the camp is made level and good, a regiment "may have its separate magazine and cover, sufficient to contain "three weeks' provisions. Paths to be made good from every "regiment to the river, for the conveniency of bringing water. "The Commanding Officers of regiments are desired to have "the line of redoubts well finished, and as soon as possible. "Twelve camp colour-men to attend the Engineers, on their "survey; the same men to con- [174] tinue. A Field-"Officer to attend early to-morrow morning at the landing "of the artillery, provisions, &c. to assist, with the Captain of "the man of war, in bringing the things on shore, and pre-"venting any confusion. A Captain, two Subalterns, and "sixty men, to parade by the rear of the 22d regiment, "at six o'clock, to relieve the guard at the landing-place;

* This large detachment was commanded by Brigadier-General Wolfe.—*Note by author.*

"the Captain will receive his orders from the Field-Officer "at that place." 1758. September.

(After orders, seven o'clock.)

"The Major of the picquets of this night to march with "the same number as Major Clephane[1] did last night, to "escort one hundred and fifty pioneers (who will be assembled "at the head of the Royal at retreat-beating) to the hill by "the water-side, half a mile in the front of the Royal, "where Major M'Kellar[2] will direct the work; the Major "will remain with his picquets, and cover the workmen till "it is finished; he will then leave a Captain, Lieutenant, and "Ensign, with non-commissioned Officers in proportion, and "fifty men in the redoubt, with orders to defend the same "against any number of the enemy that may advance, till "he is relieved; and will escort the pioneers back to the "camp, who are immediately to deliver in their tools to the "Artillery. Each regiment to send to the Artillery, at five "o'clock to-morrow morning, for twenty pickaxes and ten "shovels, to make a communication along the line, as shall be "directed by the Quarter-Master-General, or his Assistant. "A Subaltern to be sent by Webb's, and one by Lawrence's, "to oversee the one hundred and fifty pioneers; Whitmore's "and Otway's give the Captains for the two brigade picquets. "One hundred and fifty pioneers from the right brigade; "a Serjeant and thirty men from each regiment, a Subaltern "from the 48th, and one from the 3d battalion of the 60th, "to oversee the pioneers."

[175] "June 13.

"Admiral Boscawen has ordered, that the detachments on "board the fleet, belonging to the regiments in camp, shall land

[1] James Clephane, appointed Major of the 63rd Regiment, January 4, 1757.

[2] Patrick Mackellar obtained the rank of Major of Foot, January 4, 1758. He was sent to America in 1757, and made plans of Quebec. He was appointed chief engineer of the expedition to Louisbourg in 1758. Further reference will be made to him in the *Journal* for 1759.

1758. September. "and join their corps, as soon as possible. The Officers commanding regiments may front their quarter-guards outward, "or to the battalion, as they judge best from the situation "of the ground. Two Subaltern Officers, and one hundred "and fifty pioneers, with non-commissioned Officers in proportion, to assemble in the front of the Royal, precisely at "six this evening, to follow the directions of Lieutenant ——, "Engineer, with one hundred pickaxes and fifty shovels. "Two Subaltern Officers, &c. (as before) to assemble in the "front of the train, to have one hundred and twenty pickaxes, "and thirty shovels, and to be under the direction of "Lieutenant ——, Engineer. One Subaltern Officer, and "one hundred pioneers, with non-commissioned, &c. to "assemble likewise in the front of the train, to have fifty "pickaxes and fifty shovels, and to observe the directions of "Lieutenant ——, Engineer. The picquets of the 1st and "3d brigades are to cover the pioneers in making the redoubts; those of the 1st, 46th, and 48th regiments, to "march with one hundred and fifty pioneers from the front "of the Royal; the picquets of the 17th, 22d, and 47th, to "march with one hundred and fifty pioneers, that will assemble "in the front of the train; those of the 35th and 2d battalion "of Royal Americans to march with the hundred pioneers, "ordered likewise in the front of the train. The pioneers "to assemble precisely at six o'clock this evening; the picquets "to march as soon as formed after retreat-beating. As the "redoubts will be near, if not quite, finished by day-light, the "Colonel will post a picquet in each redoubt, and as many as "he may think necessary to sustain them, with an order to "defend the redoubts against any part of the enemy that may "advance. The Colonel will order back the remainder of "these picquets, with the pioneers, to camp, who are immediately to deliver their tools to the [176] Artillery. The "picquet of the 3d battalion of Royal Americans, not mentioned in the foregoing order, is to be included with the

"picquets that march from the right. Two Subaltern "Officers, with one hundred able-bodied men, and non- "commissioned Officers in proportion, to parade in the rear "of the 22d regiment, at four o'clock to-morrow morning, "to work at the Cove." 1758. September.

"June 14.

"When the picquets of the line are formed, two picquets of "the right brigade, to be posted to-night at the redoubt, in "the front of the right, near the White Point: two picquets "of the center brigade, at the redoubt on the hill, in their "front, where the three picquets marched to last night: two "picquets of the left brigade in their front, where the two "picquets marched to last night, to relieve the picquets as "they were posted by Colonel Murray, who will return to "camp. The arms to be all put in the best order. A return "from each regiment and company of the effective numbers "for which they will receive rations, Officers and four women "per company included, to be given in to-morrow at orderly "time. A good communication to be made from the different "brigades for the picquets to relieve the redoubts."

(After orders, eight o'clock.)

"One picquet of the left brigade, and one of the center "brigade, to march immediately to the redoubts in the front "of their respective brigades, and join the picquets that "marched this evening."

(Second after orders, nine o'clock.)

"Four Subalterns, with non-commissioned Officers in pro- "portion, and two hundred men of the right and center "brigades, to parade to-morrow morning, at five o'clock "precisely, in the front of Whitmore's, to assist in landing "and taking care of the provisions at the Cove; the men "of this detachment to turn their coats, when they work."

[177] "June 15.

1758. September. "Two picquets from each brigade to advance to-night, "those of the right brigade to the redoubt on the right, under "the command of Colonel Wilmott.—Two picquets of the "left brigade to advance to the redoubts on the left, under "the command of Major Prevost.—Two picquets of the "center brigade to advance to the redoubt in the center, to "be commanded by the eldest Captain of the picquets.— "Whenever a Drummer may be sent from the town of Louis- "bourg, he shall be stopped by the first centries of whatever "advanced post he may come to, and the Officer command- "ing at that post will send the letter or letters to the General, "keeping the Drummer so that he cannot see any of our "works, or the camp, till the answer from the General is "returned. If the Governor should send an Officer with "a letter, who may say he is ordered to deliver his dis- "patches to the General himself, and will not give them to "any one else, he will not, on any account whatsoever, be "permitted to advance through any of our posts, but shall "be kept till he delivers his dispatches, and remain there for "an answer; or, if he persists in not sending them, he shall "be kept at the out-posts, where he cannot see our works or "camp, and the Officer commanding the post to send a report "of it to the General.

"A market to be established at the center of the line, in "the rear of the 47th and 2d battalion of the Royal Ameri- "cans: no provisions, or liquors of any kind, shall be per- "mitted to be sold at any place but the fixed market. If any "regiments, by accident, are in want of provisions, though "the two days' provisions when the regiments landed, and "the six days they received since, are for this day inclusively, "they must send to the landing-place to receive what they "want immediately, giving receipts for it to Mr. Goldthrap, "agent-victualler, till the covering is made for laying in the

"magazines; and the quantity must hereafter be accounted 1758. September.
"[178] for by the regiments. All officers who make reports
"of any motions of the enemy to the General, the Brigadier-
"General of the day, or any other superior Officer, are
"desired to make it in writing, if possible; particularly what
"they see themselves, and specifying any thing they report of
"what others may have seen and reported to them. A
"detachment of a Field-Officer, three Captains, eight Sub-
"alterns, with non-commissioned in proportion, and three
"hundred men, to parade to-morrow morning at eight o'clock,
"in the rear of the 47th regiment, to have four days' pro-
"visions with them; they are to take post on this side of the
"Cove, where Major Farquhar's detachment is, who will
"march his party back to camp; Major Dalling[1] for this
"duty. A Lieutenant and thirty men, of the 28th regiment,
"to join the light infantry under Major Scott. One Serjeant,
"one Corporal, and sixteen men to mount as a guard on the
"Commander in Chief; this guard to begin with the Royal,
"remain forty-eight hours, and the regiments to do it by
"seniority. Eight Subalterns, non-commissioned in propor-
"tion, with four hundred men, to work at the different Coves,
"on the right of the Royal; these men to turn their coats."

"June 16.

"A Serjeant, Corporal, and seventy-eight men to parade
"to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, as an Artillery-guard,
"will remain forty-eight hours, and receive their orders from
"Colonel Williamson of that corps. No soldiers are to be
"suffered to straggle beyond the redoubts in the front,
"or the out-posts on the left and rear of the camp. One
"Captain, three Subalterns, &c. and two hundred men, to
"parade, to-morrow at four o'clock, for work at the Cove.

[1] John Dalling, appointed Major of the 28th Regiment, February 2, 1757; Lieutenant-Colonel of the 36th, December 4, 1767.

1758. September. "The 28th, 40th, and 78th regiments to complete their "ammunition immediately to fifty rounds per man, for which "they are to apply to Colonel Williamson."

[179] (After orders, seven o'clock.)

"A picquet from each brigade to march immediately and "relieve the picquets in the redoubts; the 22d from the right, "the 17th from the center, the 78th from the left."

"June 18.[1]

"Three Captains, eight Subalterns, &c. and four hundred "working men, to parade at the park of Artillery, at four "o'clock in the morning, to be employed in making the road "leading to Green-Hill, for the conveniency of transporting of "cannon and artillery stores; this party to work till one at "noon, and precisely at that hour are to be relieved by the like "number, who are to continue the work from that time, till "ten o'clock at night; an Engineer will attend this service. "A Captain, three Subalterns, &c. and two hundred men, to "assist at landing cannon and artillery stores, &c. The "evening gun to be fired this evening at sun-set."

"June 19.

"The picquets to turn out, this afternoon, an hour before "sun-set, and march to relieve the redoubts, &c. before retreat-"beating. The regiments on the left brigade will all parade, "&c. march half a mile to the left, and take post there: Major "Scott with a large body of light infantry will march to the "left of the picquets, taking post between them and Major "Ross's post at the end of the north-east harbour; and to be

[1] "17th. An English officer brought two pine-apples, gift of General Amherst, for Madame Drucourt.

"18th. M. de Drucourt sent a present of champagne wine to the English general, in requital of the pine-apples delivered to Madame de Drucourt."—*Journal du Chevalier de Tourville, loc. cit.*

" ready to attack and fall on the flank of any parties that may 1758. September.
" attempt to land, or come out of the town on that side: Major
" Scott, on seeing a rocket fired on the hill by the Careening
" Wharf, which will be answered by Sir Charles Hardy's
" squadron, and again by the center redoubt, will light fires on
" the back of the hills behind the grand battery, and make all
" the shew he can of having a large body of troops there.
" Major Scott to inform the Officer commanding the picquets of
" any thing extraordinary that may happen, who will report it
" im- [180] mediately to Brigadier Lawrence, who has orders
" to support them, if necessary. The army not to be alarmed
" at the firing they may hear this night at the town and har-
" bour. No Officer or soldier, except those on duty, to be
" absent from their respective regiments, that the whole may
" be ready to turn out, in case they should be ordered. The
" Officers commanding regiments are ordered to put only such
" guards in the fleeches in their rear, as to secure them effec-
" tually from any lurking scoundrels creeping in, and firing
" at the camp. The road party of four hundred men, &c.
" for to-morrow, agreeable to yesterday's orders."

" June 21.

" A working party of one Captain, two Subalterns, &c.
" and one hundred and fifty men of the line, to parade at
" retreat-beating this night in the front of the Artillery, where
" they will receive tools, and an Engineer will be there to
" conduct them, and direct the work. This party is to be
" relieved, to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, by the like
" number of men, who will parade at seven, &c. &c. Three
" picquets of the 1st and 3d brigades to march to-night, and
" cover these workmen in making the redoubt, on the road that
" is making for the Artillery; the Colonels of the picquets will
" post them properly: there will be a party of light infantry,
" or rangers, posted towards the town."

[181] "June 23.

1758. September. "The following species of provisions, as allowed on board "ship daily for every six men, is to be delivered on shore for "four men.

	Pounds of Bread.	Pounds of Beef.	Pounds of Pork.	Ounces of Butter.	Pints of Pease.	Pounds of Rice.
"Sunday . . .	4	...	4	...	2	...
"Monday . .	4	...	...	8	3	...
"Tuesday . .	4	7	...	...	...	1
"Wednesday . .	4	...	...	8	2	...
"Thursday . .	4	...	4	...	2	...
"Friday	4	...	...	8	3	...
"Saturday . .	4	7	...	...	...	1
"Total . .	28	14	8	24	12	2

"The regiments that receive for a week, as per former "orders, will have of the different species according to con- "tract; if they chuse to take a week more, they will receive "it of the different species, as far as the provisions will go; "and may take a note from the agent-victualler for the "delivery of the rest, so soon as it shall come into the stores, "unless they like to take other kinds of provisions in lieu "of it. At all times, if the regiments chuse to have rice in "lieu of pease, they may receive a pound and a half of rice "in lieu of three pints of pease, which, with the half pound "allowed as per contract, makes two pounds of rice per "week for each man. In the weight of all the provisions "sixteen ounces are allowed to the pound.

"Any regiments that may have more than four women per "company to make a return of how many they may have "brought with them, over and above that number."

[182] "June 24.

1758. September. "Brigadier-General Whitmore, Brigadier-General Lawrence, and the Commanding Officers of regiments, having, agreeable to the orders of the Commander in Chief, assembled and taken into consideration the most convenient method of paying the troops employed upon the present expedition, as also the weekly stoppages requisite to be made for inabling the Captains to provide a seasonable and necessary supply of shirts, shoes, stockings, &c. for their companies, are unanimously of opinion, that the weekly payments should be regulated as follows, viz. a Serjeant at ten shillings; a Corporal at six shillings and six-pence; a Drummer at five shillings; and a private soldier at three shillings per week, New-York currency *; eight shillings of that currency being equal to a dollar at four shillings and eight pence sterling; that the men's accounts be made up and signed musterly, and that the remainder of pay, and arrears due to them, be punctually paid once every six months. The same, having been reported to the Commander in Chief, has received his approbation, and is accordingly directed by him to be strictly obeyed and observed by the army under his command.

"Ten thousand pounds weight of fish having been taken from the enemy, the same is to be distributed among the troops at four o'clock this afternoon, at the landing-place of provisions; the fourteen regiments of infantry, the light infantry, artillery, and two companies of rangers at Kennington Cove, are accordingly [183] to send a sufficient

	Sterling.		N. York Currency.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
* A dollar at .	4	8	8	0
Half dollar .	2	4	4	0
Quarter ditto .	1	2	2	0
An eighth ditto	0	7	1	0
Sixteenth ditto	0	3½	0	6

Weekly stoppages.	Sterling.	
	s.	d.
From a Serjeant . .	1	0
„ Corporal . .	0	10
„ Drummer . .	1	8½
„ Private soldier .	1	8

1758. September. "number of men to receive their respective proportions, as "made out by Mr. Wier, who will be there to issue it. "A guard of a Serjeant and twelve men to mount upon "the cannon that is landed."

"June 25.

"Four Captains, ten Subalterns, &c. and six hundred "men, to parade, to-morrow morning at four o'clock, at the "Park of Artillery for work; this party will receive their "directions from an Engineer, who is ordered to attend them "for that purpose. The regiments will receive a double "quantity of fish, of what they received yesterday, on sending "to the same place and at the same hour."

"June 26.

"The Quarter-Masters of regiments will attend on the "Navy-Captain of the day to receive their camp equipage from "on board ship. Three Captains, six Subalterns, &c. and "three hundred men, to parade, at seven o'clock this evening, "for work on Green-Hill; an Engineer will conduct them to "the ground. The picquets will relieve the redoubts, and "two picquets for the advanced redoubt, instead of the three "that formed the covering party. The eight remaining "picquets will assemble at the new-made road, in front of "the 47th, at seven o'clock, so as to be at Green-Hill soon "after eight, and to be a covering party to the three hundred "workmen. The second picquets of the line are to be "formed in the front and center of their respective brigades, "and the whole will be under the command of Brigadier "Whitmore. The marines will take post at Kennington Cove "to-morrow, and the Major's detachment will return to "camp, leaving two companies of rangers there. The regi- "ments will receive one day's fresh provisions to-morrow, "and, in case the price of the fresh should exceed the salt, "the regiments must pay the difference hereafter. A de-

" tachment of a Colonel, Major, six Captains, fourteen Sub- 1758. September.
" alterns, &c. and six hundred [184] men, to be a covering
" party this night to the workmen on Green-Hill; the Colonel
" will receive his orders from the Commander in Chief. The
" picquets in the redoubts to be relieved as last night; and, in
" case the remaining picquets of this night should be ordered
" out, the whole will be under the command of Brigadier-
" General Lawrence. Spruce-beer is to be brewed for the
" health and convenience of the troops, which will be served
" at prime cost; five quarts of molasses are to be brewed into
" thirty-two gallons of beer; each gallon will cost less than
" a penny sterling: the beer will be brewed on the 29th
" instant, and be ready to be delivered to the brigades and
" the artillery on the 30th; the best and greatest quantity of
" spruce may be had about half a mile in the rear of the
" center brigade; each brigade will order a small party to
" cut and bring wood and spruce; they will likewise make
" a shed of branches to cover their molasses and beer. Mr.
" Wier, Commissary of stores, will deliver, this afternoon,
" to each regiment, ten casks, for which receipts are to be
" given, and the regiments are to be answerable for them."

" June 28.

" One man per company, grenadiers excepted, of the line
" to be sent to the Artillery, where they will be taught the
" method of exercising the cannon; seven Serjeants and seven
" Corporals to command these men, and keep them together in
" messes; the necessary guards for the Artillery to be formed
" from this detachment, and the present guards will return to
" camp: they will be furnished with tents at the Artillery, and
" receive their orders from Colonel Williamson. Any of the
" men that have been sent sick or wounded from the light
" infantry to their regiments must, as soon as recovered, rejoin
" their detachments at the light infantry.—A Surgeon to attend
" the detachment on Green-Hill.

[185] "June 29.

1758. September. "No huts or tents to be permitted in the front or in- "tervals of the regiments, and particular care is to be taken "by the Commanding Officers, that no rum or spirituous "liquors are suffered to be sold in the rear, or any thing "that is detrimental to the health of their men."

"June 30.

"Mr. John Young is appointed Provost-Martial, and is to "have a guard of one Serjeant and eight men, always ready "to attend him; this guard to be relieved every forty-eight "hours, and to be done regimentally, beginning with the Royal. "The Provost-Martial will call for the guard, when he wants "it. He is to stave all casks with spirituous liquors, destroy "all huts, and pull down any tents where any liquors are sold, "except it be by permission of the Commanding Officer of the "regiment; keep good order in the market, and not permit "any thing to be sold there after retreat-beating.

"July 1.

"The two companies of grenadiers, of the 28th and 48th "regiments, are to march immediately to the ground where "the light infantry is incamped; they will receive their orders "from Brigadier-General Wolfe, taking two days' provisions "with them. Spruce-beer will be brewed this day; but, as it "will be a great advantage to the men not to drink it till it is "two days old, it will be delivered to them on Monday "morning (the 3d instant) at the rate of two quarts per man, "&c. &c."

"July 2.

"One Captain, three Subalterns, twelve Non-commissioned "Officers, with three hundred working men, to parade to-mor- "row morning at four o'clock, to make fascines of six and nine "feet long, between the center and advanced redoubts; they

" are not to expose themselves to the enemy beyond the com- 1758. September.
" munication made between the advanced and center redoubts;
" men to be sent on [186] this service who are accustomed to
" this work. The Commanding Officers of regiments are de-
" sired to preserve all the different kinds of barrels they may
" receive with their provisions, as they will be very useful in
" carrying on the siege; the regiments to make a report
" when they have any number collected together, and the
" artillery shall send for them. The forge sent on shore
" by Admiral Boscawen, for repairing the men's arms, shall
" be sent to the ground in the front of Brigadier Lawrence's
" tent."

" Orders to the Officers commanding the several redoubts.

" SIR, Head Quarters, July 9.

" I am ordered by the General to acquaint you, that, when
" the air is clear enough (either by day or night) for the
" centries to see before them, you may post them without
" the redoubt; but, when the weather will not permit them
" to be of that service, you are to call them in, shut up the
" redoubt close, and place a centry at each angle; the General
" expects that (as you will certainly be supported) you are to
" defend yourself with that vigilance and spirit recommended
" to you in former orders.

" Isaac Barrè,
" Major of brigade.

" You are to deliver these orders to the Officer who re-
" lieves you."

All the covering parties, attending the several working detachments at the advanced works, were ordered to incamp in the rear of these works; and the Officers were to dispense with soldiers' tents, to prevent their being discovered by the enemy.

1758. September. General Abercromby's manifesto, respecting the violation, on the part of the enemy, of the capitulation of fort William-Henry, as by me already recited, was published to the army before Louisbourg, on the 14th of July.

[187] "July 18.

"All the volunteers of the army (except the Highlanders) "are to assemble in the evening at the advanced intrench-"ments of Green-Hill, and there wait for Brigadier Wolfe's "directions, sending notice of their arrival. The grenadiers "of the 58th, and 3d battalion of Americans, are to relieve "the companies of the 22d and 48th at the redoubt upon "the hill, terminating the right of the parallel. They are "to parade in the dusk of the evening, at the post where "the Brigadier of the day has usually been; and from thence "be conducted by an Officer of Whitmore's grenadiers to that "station. These two companies of grenadiers are to continue "the work of that redoubt with vigour, and to take each a "fascine and three pickets (or stakes) with them. The "grenadiers of the second battalion of Royal Americans are "to parade at the same time and place; they will be con-"ducted by a Serjeant of the grenadiers of the 28th to "the post occupied by that company, whom they are to "relieve, and to continue the work at the redans, taking "with them each a fascine and three pickets. The duty "of the trenches will be done by battalions to-morrow, "and, for the future, without any fixed hour of relief; that "must depend upon circumstances. There will be three "reliefs for the trenches; the first, five battalions; the "second, four battalions; the third, five battalions. Brigadier "Wolfe's corps will furnish every night, for the trenches, one "company of grenadiers, one picquet of Highlanders, one "other picquet of foot. The ten companies of grenadiers "will incamp, five on the right, where the present incamp-"ment of grenadiers is; and five on the left, where the "present incampment is on Green-Hill.

"All the companies of grenadiers are to be in constant "readiness to march into the trenches for whatever purpose "they may be required. The troops detached from Brigadier "Wolfe's corps, for the duty of the trenches, are always to "occupy the left of the parallel. 1758. September.

"Relief of the trenches.

- Brigadier-General Whitmore.
  - First relief: Royal, Amherst, Hopson, Otway, Lascelles.
  - Companies of grenadiers for this relief: Royal, Amherst, Forbes, Monckton.
- Brigadier-General Lawrence.
  - Second relief: Whitmore, Bragg, Webb, Fraser.
  - Grenadiers for this relief: Whitmore, Webb, Fraser.
- Brigadier-General Wolfe.
  - Third relief: Forbes, Monckton, Anstruther, Warburton, Lawrence.
  - Grenadiers for this relief: Bragg, Anstruther, Lawrence.

"The regiments that go into the trenches are to leave their "quarter-guards to secure their tents, &c. and the usual "guards in the redans of the rear; all the rest are to march.— "All the pioneers of the trenches will be taken from the

1758. September. "regiments actually upon that duty, in proportion to their "numbers.—A Surgeon and Mate to attend at the post, in "the midway between Green-Hill and [189] the trenches, "where any wounded men will be carried to them; another "Mate to remain at the bomb battery. Three biers will "be placed in the rear of each regiment, for the immediate "care of any men that may be wounded."

"July 20.

"A new road to be marked out and made, by Major "Robertson, from the left of Green-Hill to the trenches. The "Admiral having given orders at the navy hospital, that any "men from on board ship, belonging to the regiments in camp, "should be struck off the sea-book when taken from the "hospital; the Commanding Officers of corps may apply "for removing their men, as soon as they think proper."

"July 21.

"The soldiers will be allowed for any shells or shot they "may pick up, which have been fired from the enemy, at the "following prices; for every thirteen-inch shell, a dollar; a "ten-inch shell, half a dollar; and an eight-inch shell, a "quarter dollar; the shells to be brought to the mortar battery "on the right. Large shot to be paid at two-pence each, and "smaller at a penny; the shot to be brought to the Artillery "Cove, and Mr. Saltenstall, the Commissary, will pay for "them and the shells.——It is repeated, that all arms taken "from the enemy shall be brought to the head quarters; the "men who take such arms, will be allowed five shillings for "every good or repairable firelock. A return to be given in "immediately of what number of miners and sappers there "are in each regiment."

"July 24.

"It having been represented to the General, that some of "the bakers extort most enormous prices from the soldiers for

" bread, it is hereby ordered that no baker shall presume to " take more than two-pence per pound for any bread he " shall sell in camp." 1758. September.

" July 25.

[190] " The trenches to be relieved this night by the first " brigade, under the command of Brigadier Whitmore. The " Royal march by the right, and take post in the intrench- " ment on the right. Amherst, Otway, Hopson, and Las- " celles parade as usual; Amherst and Otway march by the " left, Hopson's and Lascelles by the right, to the advanced " work before Green-Hill, where the guides will attend. The " Royal grenadiers march to the right, and relieve those of " Lawrence; the grenadiers of Amherst and Bragg march to " the advanced post before Green-Hill, from whence the " guides will conduct them. Four hundred men to parade, " to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, to cut fascines; two " hundred to parade, at the same hour, to carry fascines and " pickets to the batteries; two hundred also to parade, of " which half are to be employed in filling sandbags, the " other in working for the Artillery."

" July 26.

Remarkable for the surrender of Louisbourg, &c. &c. and, on the 27th, the parole was KING GEORGE: and the following compliment was paid to the army in public orders:—" The " General desires that every Officer commanding a corps will " acquaint the Officers and men, that he is greatly pleased " with the brave and good behaviour of the troops, which " has, and always must insure success: the General will report " it to the King."

Having recited some of the most material orders that were published, previous to our invasion of the island of Cape Breton, and during the siege; which, as they diversify, so I hope they will be agreeable to every reader, and particularly to young and inexperienced military gentlemen, who

1758. September. may improve by them: I shall now proceed to the contents of my long-expected packet, with my correspondent's account of that important expedition.[1]

[191] "Louisbourg, July 30, 1758.

"I have the happiness and pleasure to transmit to my "old acquaintance the agreeable news of this fortress, island, "and dependencies having surrendered to our arms the 26th "instant; and, as I know you are compiling a Journal, I "herewith, pursuant to my promise, inclose you some par- "ticulars of the siege, and the principal terms of the capitula- "tion, for that work; which I hope, at some time or other, "to have the perusal of. I had the pleasure to write to "you, on the 16th of June; but, as I have never since "laid eyes on the Midshipman who had it in charge, and "promised to forward it, I despair of your having received "it. This has been the work of several days, and I have "not time to send you any returns, except that of our loss "during the siege; or to subjoin any thing more at present, "being much hurried.—I thank God I am in perfect health, "though greatly fatigued; and therefore request my friend "will excuse me.—When more at leisure, or if I remove "hence, you shall hear from me again; I hope the papers "that accompany this letter will fully answer your purposes, "and I shall be happy, &c. &c. &c.

"We had variety of weather, and generally very unfavour- "able until the sixth of June, on which day it was intended "the army should land at a place which General Amherst and "our Brigadiers had before made choice of: for this purpose "the signal was thrown out, and the troops got into their "boats; but, the wind rising soon after, with a prospect "of angry weather, at the same time a lumpy sea running, "with a very frightful surf on shore (rolling many degrees "worse than you and I have seen it in Yarmouth Roads or

[1] See also Amherst's *Journal*, and *Letters from a French Officer*, in Appendix.

PLAN OF LOUISBOURG

From an engraved plan by the Chevalier de la Rigaudiere. (Map Division, Dominion Archives)

"elsewhere) and a fog at the same time thickening, it was 1758. September.
"not thought practicable to disembark at that juncture, and
"we were all ordered back into our ships. The weather
"continued obstinate until the morning of the eighth, when
"we were again ordered into the boats, the swell being abated,
"and the wind [192] more moderate; the frigates at the
"same time edged in shore, to attack the enemy's intrench-
"ments, and to cover the landing. After the ships had
"been some time engaged, a signal was made for the troops
"to put off, and they rowed up and down, making feints, as
"if intending to land in different places,[1] and thereby divert
"the enemy's attention from any one particular part of
"their coast: this in a great measure answered our wishes,
"and Brigadier Wolfe (whose flag-staff was broke by a swivel
"shot) pushed ashore, with his detachment, under a furious
"fire, and landed upon the left of the enemy's works, then
"briskly engaged, and routed them; the remainder of the
"army followed the example without loss of time, landing
"almost up to their waists in water. The ardour of the troops,
"in this enterprise, is not to be conceived nor parallelled;
"many boats were destroyed, and several brave fellows
"drowned: yet our whole loss at landing, I am well assured,
"did not exceed one hundred and ten men, of all ranks, killed,
"wounded, and drowned. The enemy fled with great pre-
"cipitation, and Brigadier Wolfe pursued them almost to
"the gates of the town, with the light infantry, rangers,
"Fraser's Highlanders, and the grenadiers of the 1st, 15th,
"17th, and 22d regiments. I can only account for the
"unsoldier-like behaviour of the enemy on this occasion,
"by their apprehensions, perhaps, of being cut off from the
"garrison by some or other of the divisions, whom they
"suspected would land elsewhere for that purpose; and of
"being thereby hemmed in between two fires: they were very

[1] The place where the landing was to be effected was pointed out by Wolfe. See [Pichon] *Lettres et Mémoires*, p. 284.

1758. September. "well intrenched in a circular form round the Cove, were "numerous, and had many pieces of ordnance mounted, "from twenty-four pounders downwards, with some mor- "tars, &c. which were all well served. These, as you may "suppose, with their intrenching tools, stores, ammunition, "and some provisions, fell into our hands: they had some "Indians among them, for we found the corpse of one of "their Chiefs, a stout fellow, with uncommon large limbs "[193] and features; he had a medal and crucifix of silver, "both hanging by a chain from his neck. Though many "lives were lost, in this descent, by the oversetting of the "boats, occasioned by an uncommon great surf, yet; I "believe, we benefited by it in a very eminent degree, for, "when the boats were lifted up, by the violence of the swell, "to a considerable height, the enemy's shot, which would "probably have done execution, had we been upon even "water, passed under us: and in like manner some flew over "us, in our quick transition from high to low; this is the "only reason that I can assign for our not losing more men "by the enemy's fire. The weather continued rough and "unfavourable, so that we had no communication with our "fleet for several days; consequently, having no tents on "shore, and a very short allowance of provisions, our situa- "tion was far from being comfortable. On the night of the "11th, the enemy destroyed the grand battery which is "opposite to the harbour's mouth, and retired into the town; "in consequence thereof, Brigadier Wolfe received orders to "march with a large detachment, and take possession of the "Light-house Point, which, with the Island battery, form "the entrance of the harbour.[1] We have an incredible deal

[1] "12 June. About 2 o'Clock in the Morning Major *Scott* marched with 500 Light *Infantry* and *Rangers*, taking a fatiguing Sweep through the Woods, to go to take Possession of the *Light-house* Battery; and about 5, was followed by Brigadier *Wolfe*, with 4 Companies of *Grenadiers* commanded by Lieutenant-Col. *Hale*, and 1200 Men detached from the Line. They found this Battery destroyed by the Enemy, and but 4 pieces of Canon left, which

"of labour on our hands, cutting and making fascines, gabions 1758. September.
"and hurdles; intrenching our camp and posts, erecting
"blockhouses, throwing up redoubts, making roads for our
"artillery, through a vile country, partly rough (worse, if
"possible, than the ground we incamped on last year at
"Halifax) but in general swampy; advancing our lines or
"approaches, constructing batteries, and skirmishing continu-
"ally with the rabble in the woods round our camp, who are
"very troublesome neighbours: such are the employments of
"the army, often by night as well as by day; such the toils
"we have to encounter, in the progress of this enterprise;
"yet with inexpressible pleasure I behold the zeal of the
"troops surmounting every difficulty, in all which they have
"noble examples before them in our General Officers. On
"the night of [194] the 19th Brigadier Wolfe opened on
"the Island battery, which however was not silenced until the
"25th; he also quieted the fire of a frigate that gave us
"much annoyance.—We then (for I was upon that service)
"got orders to rejoin the army with our artillery, and leave
"a small detachment with some ship-guns at the Point, to
"prevent the enemy's repairing their works and batteries on
"the island. On the 26th, a party of the enemy sallied out,
"and attempted to destroy one of our blockhouses by fire,

they had spiked up. A proper Quantity of Artillery, Tools, &c. was sent thither by Sea. The *Situation* of the Place was the most advantageous that could be obtained, for annoying the *Island Battery*, and the *Ships*, with our Shot and Shells. On the Sea-side there was a little *Cove*, very convenient for landing Artillery and Stores for the Batteries to be erected here—besides two small *Encampments* deserted by the Enemy, with their Tents standing, in which were some Provisions, Utensils; and a great quantity of cured Fish at *Lorembec*. All the landing Places here were defended with strong *Breast-works* of the same Construction with those round *Kennington Cove*. At the *Cove*, where our Cannon was landed, there were two pieces of the Enemy's Cannon left with their Trunnions knocked off, and at their *upper* Encampment 3 eight pounders, two of them spiked up. After Brigadier *Wolfe* had reconnoitred this Post, his whole Detachment incamped themselves here about 4 in the Afternoon, and the *Light Infantry* and *Rangers* marched back to the *Grand Camp*."—*An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg* (London, 1758), pp. 23–24.

1758. September. "hoping thereby to favour a *coup* they had projected (as we "surmise) of greater importance; but they were disappointed "and beat back to their garrison with some loss. A command "of Marines were landed for the first time, and took post at the "Cove, which is to be relieved from the fleet. On the night of "the 30th we had a small alarm from that quarter, the Marines "having apprehended an attack from the savages and other "irregulars. The enemy sunk four ships in the harbour's "mouth, to obstruct the channel and prevent our fleet's going "in;[1] the troops are growing sickly, particularly the New-"England-men, their disorders mostly the small-pox.

"July the 1st.

"A part of the enemy skulked out, to procure some fire-"wood (as 'tis supposed;) they were instantly drove back to "the town by Mr. Wolfe's detachment:[2] deserters are daily "coming out to us; they are mostly Germans; say they were "basely betrayed and forced into the French service: the "enemy's ships in the harbour continue to annoy us "considerably.[3]

[1] "28 June. This Night they sunk two Frigates and two Store-ships with a great Weight of Stones in them; they were fastened together with Cables, and moored down with Anchors, in the narrow Entrance of their Harbour, to prevent more than one of our Ships at a time from getting in there, if we should think it necessary at any time of the Siege to force the Harbour with our Fleet."—*An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg* (London, 1758), p. 30; see p. 259.

[2] "About 6 o'clock this morning 200 of the Enemy came out of the Garrison to get Wood. The Light Infantry with a detachment of Highlanders (who joined us on our forming our present Camp) marched and soon obliged this Party to give way, retreating from Hill to Hill, facing about at times & returning the Smart Fire of our Troops. General Wolfe was in this skirmish and as usual in the most Danger; several men were wounded but none of any consequence."—*Journal kept by —— Gordon, op. cit.*, p. 128.

[3] The Chevalier Johnston, who was at Louisbourg, says: "M. de Goutte established himself in the town, with the officers and crews of these five men-of-war, leaving only a small guard on board each of them. They landed at the same time their gunpowder, which they placed in two small buildings, near the Battery Salvere, and made them bomb-proof, by covering them with

"July the 9th.

"A strong *sortie* was made by the garrison; and, though 1758. September.
"their men were shamefully drunk, yet they surprised some of
"our troops, and a smart rencounter ensued; but some com-
"panies of grenadiers, coming up, soon put an end to the fray,
"and repulsed them with the loss of an hundred killed and
"wounded; most of the latter were [195] taken prisoners;
"many of them in their retreat threw down their arms, which
"we also recovered; we had about forty men and Officers
"killed and wounded.

"July the 11th.

"Brigadier Wolfe is now about seven hundred yards from
"the West gate, whence he has damaged the town considerably
"with his shells; he is erecting a battery of four thirty-two
"pounders, and six twenty-four pounders: our most advanced
"lodgement is not six hundred yards from the garrison. The
"making of roads for our artillery has been the most painful of
"our labour, and, though now almost completed, they must
"nevertheless undergo daily repairs: the weather does not
"generally favour our operations. General Amherst is indefa-
"tigable; he visits our outposts, batteries, and other works,
"every day; and is continually concerting plans and recon-
"noitring new places, from which he can most sensibly insult
"the enemy's works, and accelerate the siege.

"July the 15th.

"Some rockets were thrown up by the Lighthouse detach-
"ment, as a signal to the fleet of some ships stealing out of the

tons' weight of tobacco, which was in great plenty at Louisbourg, brought there by the French privateers from the English prizes. Vauclin remaining alone in the *Aréthuse*, which lay armed in the harbour, was useful in the siege, and behaved himself like a lion."—*The Campaign of Louisbourg*, 1750–58, p. 17, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

1758. September. "harbour; which were answered by Admiral Sir Charles "Hardy's squadron, who instantly put to sea.[1]

"July the 21st.

"Three of the enemy's ships in the harbour took fire, and "were burnt down to the water's edge: we cannot say whether "this disaster, which was preceded by a great explosion on board "one of them, was accidental or designed.[2] Several batteries

[1] "15 July. In the Night the mischievous Frigate *L'Aréthuse* taking the advantage of a dark Night and a thick *Fog*, got out of the Harbour, but not unperceived by the *Light-house* Party, who made Signals with Rockets to Sir *Charles Hardy's* Squadron; several of whom chased her, but at a great Distance, till they lost Sight of her in a Fog impenetrable to human Eyes, and extended on this Coast for many a Score Leagues. Two or three of the *Deserters* from our Camp were sent to *France in this Frigate*."—*An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg*, pp. 37–38.

It was intended that the *Aréthuse* should sail the night of the 7th, but she could not be got ready; and again on the 13th, but the night proved too bright. Finally she slipped out at half-past nine the evening of the 15th, and, although the British fleet, warned by the Lighthouse battery, pursued, made good her escape to France. She carried several despatches, in which Drucour, Prévost, and La Houlière all speak in the highest terms of the conduct of her captain, Vauquelin, during the siege. Prévost wrote: "M. de Vauquelin is a person who merits your favour. The whole colony has seen him conducting himself like a hero, surrounded as he was by two batteries of cannon and eighteen mortars that have been pouring shot and shell on him for several days; . . . continuing to fight and to bombard steadily the enemy's entrenchments, to which he has caused much injury, according to the reports that have been given us by six deserters. I must not conceal from you that here the effective operations from the water have depended upon this officer, who is quite capable of rendering still greater services to the King."—Letter to the Minister of Marine, July 7, 1758: *Canadian Archives*, F. 171 (C^{11} iv. 38).

Two years later at Quebec, Captain Vauquelin was again gallantly maintaining a losing fight.

[2] The captain of the *Capricieux* wrote: "At 2 in the afternoon, a bomb having fallen on the *Célèbre*, the fire caught so quickly that she was in flames in a very short time. It spread to the *Entreprenant* in several places, so that there was no more possibility of extinguishing it than on board the *Célèbre*. I took myself at once to the *Capricieux*, which I saw manifestly threatened with the same fate, and my first care was to cast off the cables which from the starboard side held the vessel at anchor. But it was shallow water, and the wind blowing from the east threw the vessel on a neighbouring shoal, where she grounded in such a way that I was not able to get away from the

"are now playing upon the town, and others are still to be "erected. We fire both day and night with great spirit, and "have done so for some time. 1758. September.

"July the 22d.

"Three new batteries were opened this day with good "success; one of them mounted mortars only; it soon de- "molished the citadel, which I saw in flames for several hours.[1]

Entreprenant no matter what force we put on the capstan and larboard stream-cables. As the wind blew directly from the *Entreprenant* on the *Capricieux* I had hopes of saving her only in case the wind should change—an expectation with which one could not comfort oneself, because it had to take effect at that very moment. As a matter of fact, the fire caught twice on the poop and was extinguished, but it very soon broke out again with more force. Besides the *Entreprenant* was then wrapped in fire and so near that we could not endure even the heat. Therefore, seeing no way of saving the *Capricieux*, I sent the crew ashore in the launch and small boats, keeping the long boat for myself. Then I embarked by one of the port-holes from between-decks forward, and, after waiting a few moments, returned to land, to the quarters of the Marquis Desgouttes. . . . The *Bienfaisant* ran the same risk, but the fire did not reach her because she was slightly to the windward."—*Journal du Chevalier de Tourville.*

[1] "The 22 July. At seven o'clock this morning a twelve-inch bomb fell in a soldier's room in the fort-barracks north of the chapel steeple. These soldiers had all left, taking their baggage. Someone went to see if the fire caught, but did not believe that it had. Half an hour later the fire broke out very brightly; it spread rapidly along the ridge-piece and shingles. Efforts were made to check it above the church, and there were good hopes that it would not go further, but the wind changing at this moment, the fire swept the entire length of the buildings, being stopped only at the South Lodge, residence of M. de Drucour, the Governor. . . . A small number of casemates are situated in this King's Bastion, where are shut up the Ladies and part of the women of the town; one is assigned to the wounded officers. We were very nervous lest the fire should spread to the wooden screen which ran the length of the casemates; and from the direction of the wind the smoke alone might stifle the people who were shut up in some of them. So all the women with a considerable number of little children came out, running hither and thither, not knowing where to go in the midst of the bombs and bullets that were falling on every side; also several officers, sick and wounded, carried on stretchers, without having a safe asylum in which they could be placed."—Anonymous *Journal du Siege de Louisbourg: Canadian Archives*, F. 173, p. 274 (C^{11} v. 10-1).

At the Queen's Bastion were the principal barracks, built of wood by the New England troops in 1745. It was now ordered that these be evacuated; and only in time, for the next day they were burned by the English bombs.—*Ibid.*

[196] "July the 23d.

1758. September. "This evening a long range of buildings (which I am told "are the barracks) were set on fire by our shells, and burned "with great rapidity; we have now brought our approaches "so near, as to be able to beat off the Gunners from the "enemy's bastions with our musketry.

"July the 24th.

"The enemy's fire is by no means so spirited as for some "time past. Some hundreds of seamen were sent on shore, to "assist in forwarding the new batteries.

"July the 26th.

"Last night the Admiral sent a body of sailors, with the "boats of the fleet, and a proper number of naval Officers "under two *Captains, (whose names I cannot learn) to take "or burn the remainder of the ships in the harbour, as they "considerably annoyed us, and retarded our operations: this "service was well performed, and with very little loss; the "la Prudente, of seventy-four guns, being a-ground, they burnt "her; the other, which is a sixty-four†, they took, and towed "into the north-east harbour.[1] To-day the garrison proposed

* The Captains La Forey and Balfour. This was a remarkable gallant action.—*Note by author.*

† The Bianfaisant.—*Note by author.*

[1] "July 25. About Noon, by the Admiral's Order, two *Boats*, a Barge and Pinnace or Cutter from every ship of the Fleet, except the *Northumberland*, an Invalid, manned only with their proper Crews, and armed with Musquets and Bayonets, Cutlasses, Pistols, and Pole-Axes, each Boat under the Direction of a *Lieutenant* and *Mate* or *Midshipman*, rendezvoused at the *Admiral's* Ship: From thence they were detached by two's and three's at a time to join those of Sir *Charles Hardy's* Squadron off the Mouth of the Harbour. There they were in the Evening ranged in *two Divisions* under the Command of the *two Senior Masters* and *Commanders* in the Fleet, the Captains *Laforey* and *Balfour*.

"In this Order they put off from Sir *Charles's* Squadron about 12 o'Clock, and by the Advantage of the foggy *Darkness* of the Night, and the inviolable *Silence* of their People, paddled into the Harbour of *Louisbourg*, unperceived either by the *Island* Battery they were obliged to come very near to, or by the *two Men* of *War* that rode at Anchor at no great Distance from them.

" to surrender; they demanded the same terms which had been " granted to the valiant Blakeney at Minorca; but, being told " they must submit at discretion, they at length found them- 1758. September.

There was no great Probability of their being perceived from any Part of the *Garrison*, not only on Account of their greater Distance, but also of the *preconcerted* brisk *Diversion* made upon them from all our Batteries about that time. Besides, the Besieged themselves left no body an Opportunity to hear any Noise: For, from having in the Day time observed the numerous *Scaling-ladders* that were brought into our Trenches, they were under some Apprehensions of an *Escalade* intended at this Night, and kept a constant Fire with their Musketry from the Ramparts during the whole time; with the Design, if possible, to deter the Besiegers from that Attempt, by showing them how well they were upon their Guard in all the Places it could probably be made.

"During this seeming Security and prudent Precaution on both Sides, the bold Stratagem of the *Boats* for surprizing the *two remaining Ships* in the Enemy's Harbour, every Moment ripened for the Execution. After pushing in as far almost as the *Grand Battery* lest the Ships should be too soon alarmed by their Oars, they took a Sweep from thence towards the Part of the Harbour, where the *Gentlemen* knew the Ships were, who had before very well reconnoitred it—and presently discovered them. Each Division of the *Boats* was no sooner within Sight and Hail of the noble Object of their Attempt, *Capt. Laforey*'s of *Le Prudent*, and *Capt. Balfour's* of *Le Bienfaisant*, than, while the Centinels on board having hailed them in vain, began to fire on them, each of the *Commanders* ordered his Boats to *give way along-side* their respective *Ships*, and to board them immediately with all the Expedition and good Order they could observe.

"The *Boats Crews* no longer able to contain themselves in Silence, after their Manner, gave *loud Cheers* as they were *pulling up along-side*, and with the most intrepid Activity, armed some with Muskets, Bayonets and Cutlasses, others with Pistols, Cutlasses and Pole-axes, followed their brave *Leaders* and boarded the Ships in an Instant with great Spirit, on each Bow, Quarter and Gang-way—and after very little Resistance from the terrified Crews, soon found themselves in Possession of *two fine Ships* of the Enemy, one of 74, and one of 64 Guns, with the Loss of very few of the *Seamen*, and but one *Mate*.

"The Besieged were now sufficiently alarmed on all Sides by the *Noise* of the *Seamen* at boarding, the *Cheers* leaving them no Room to doubt that it was from *English Seamen*, and the Direction of the confused *Sound* of *Voices* and *Firing* afterwards soon leading them to suspect the real Fact, an Attempt upon their Ships. The heroic, successful Adventurers were employed in securing the *Prisoners* in the Ships Holds, and concerting the most effectual Methods for securing their *Prizes* out of the Reach of the enraged Enemy; when both the *Ships* and *Boats* received a most furious Fire of Cannon, Mortars and Muskets from all Parts that it could be directed to them, from

1758. September. "selves under the necessity of complying;[1] and the whole island "of Cape Breton, the more fertile isle of St. John, together "with their inhabitants, are all comprehended in the treaty.

the *Island Battery* at no great Distance, from the Battery on *Point Maurepas* a little farther off, and from all the Guns of the *Garrison* that could be brought to bear on that Part of the Harbour.

"After endeavouring in vain to tow off *Le Prudent*, they found she was on ground, with several Feet Water in her Hold. There now remained nothing in their Power to do, to prevent her becoming recovered by the Enemy, but to set her on Fire—which they did with all possible Expedition, leaving along side her a *large Schooner*, and her *own Boats*, for her People to escape in to the Shore, which was at no great Distance from her. On board of this Ship they found a *Deserter* from our Camp, who was killed in the little Bustle at our People's taking Possession of her, and by that Means rescued from the ignominious Execution of *military Justice*.

"The Boats from *Le Prudent* now joined the others about *Le Bienfaisant*, and helped to tow her off triumphantly in the midst of a formidable Fire from the mortified Enemy; which they did with great Speed by the Assistance of a little Breeze, and what ragged Sails, Yards and Rigging she had left of any Service after the constant Fire she had so long received from our Batteries. When they had thus got her out of the Distance and Direction of the Enemy's Guns, they *secured* her till the next Day by an Hawser in the N.E. Harbour. . . . At the Time of this *naval Assault*, there was neither *Captain* or *Lieutenant* on board either of these Ships, but an *Ensign* only in each left with the Command:—That their Decks were strewed about a Foot high with *Tobacco Leaves*, and large Pieces of *Junk*, as a Precaution to lessen the violent Effects of our *smaller Shells* that might accidentally alight in them:—And, that all their Sides within, were nailed over with *thick Nettings*, to prevent some of the Mischiefs from Splinters occasioned by Shot through their Sides."—*An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg*, pp. 44–48.

[1] On the afternoon of July 26, Drucour summoned a Council of War, at which were present, besides the Governor, La Houillière, Prévost, Bonnaventure, Desgouttes, St. Julien, Marin, and Danthonay. Drucour has preserved in his *Journal* and correspondence a very full record of the proceedings. The engineer Franquet presented a report on the condition of the fortifications. After considering it, all advised that negotiations be opened for a capitulation. The Sieur Loppinot, Aide-Major of Louisbourg, was sent to the English to ask for a suspension of hostilities. Boscawen and Amherst replied that they proposed a general assault on the morrow; they would now allow one hour to the Governor to determine to surrender the garrison as prisoners of war. Drucour proposed in reply that the garrison should be allowed to go out with the honours of war, and be transported to France: terms similar to those granted by the French at Minorca in 1756. The English commanders answered that they adhered to their first declaration, and demanded an immediate and unconditional reply. Drucour refused these terms. But the Intendant Prévost

"The day following Brigadier Whitmore (who is to remain "Governor) took possession, placed guards at all the gates, "arsenals, magazines, &c. and received the submission of the "French troops, by grounding their arms on the parade in his "presence. Eleven stands of colours are fallen into our hands, "which, with all the prisoners, are to be sent to England: they "amount (I am told) to almost 6000 [197] men. We have "got immense quantities of stores of all kinds, with some "ammunition and provisions, and a respectable artillery: the "enemy have now, both by sea and land, sustained a fatal blow "in America. Mr. Amherst has displayed the General in all "his proceedings, and our four Brigadiers are justly intitled to "great praises; Mr. Wolfe being the youngest in rank, the most "active part of the service fell to his lot; he is an excellent "Officer, of great valour, which has conspicuously appeared in "the whole course of this undertaking.[1] The troops behaved "as British troops should do, and have undergone the fatigues "of this conquest chearfully and with great steadiness; the "light infantry, who are inconceivably useful, did honour to

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now presented a memorandum, ostensibly on behalf of the civilians, urging surrender. The Council was re-assembled, and the decision reached to accept the enemy's conditions. The *Journal du Chevalier de Drucour* gives the proceedings of the Council of War and the correspondence with the English commanders. A copy of Prévost's Representation is in *Canadian Archives*, F. 171 (C^{11} iv. 28).

[1] On July 27, Wolfe wrote to his uncle, Major Walter Wolfe, giving a summary of the campaign: "In general, it may be said that we made a rash and ill-advised attempt to land, and by the greatest of good fortune imaginable we succeeded. If we had known the country, and had acted with more vigour, half the garrison at least (for they were all out) must have fallen into our hands immediately after we landed. Our next operations were exceedingly slow and injudicious, owing partly to the difficulty of landing our stores and artillery, and partly to the ignorance and inexperience of the engineers. . . . Our artillery made havoc amongst them [the garrison], and soon opened the ramparts. In two days more we should have assaulted the place by land and by sea, and should certainly have carried it. If this force had been properly managed, there was an end of the French colony in North America in one campaign; for we have, exclusive of seamen and marines, near to 40,000 men in arms."—Wright, *Life of Wolfe*, pp. 448–9.

1758. September. "themselves and to that General who first saw the necessity "of forming these corps. The troops have suffered consider- "ably by sickness; but, though I am told so, I find, upon "inquiry, the loss has been mostly among the rangers and New "England artificers, to whom the small-pox has proved very "fatal; the greatest unanimity has subsisted throughout this "whole armament both naval and military, and Admiral "Boscawen has given us all the assistance that could be wished "for. I went into town yesterday, and found the place in such "ruin, that I was glad to return to the camp without any delay. "Never was artillery better served than our's; they have dis- "tributed their destruction to every corner of this fortress with "great profusion.[1] Our Adjutant has obliged me with the "following return of our whole loss, which has not been equal "to what might have been at first expected.

[198] "A list of the killed and wounded at the siege of "Louisbourg.

	K.	W.	
"Colonels . .	...	1	
"Captains . .	2	4	
"Lieutenants .	8	16	*N.B.* Of the Royal Artillery one Gunner and three Mattrosses killed, and one Corporal, Gunner, and three Mattrosses wounded; which with the Rangers are also included.
"Ensigns . .	2	3	
"Serjeants . .	3	4	
"Corporals . .	8	5	
"Privates . .	149	320	
"Drummers .	...	2	
Total	172	354[2]	Total killed and wounded, 526."[3]

[1] The appearance of the harbour seems to have been no better than that of the town. "When our Ships came into the Harbour, there was hardly any Part of it, which had not the Appearance of Distress and Desolation, and pre- sented to our View frequent Pieces of Wrecks and Remnants of Destruction— Five or six Ships *sunk* in one place with their Mast-Heads peeping out of the Water—the *stranded* Hull of *Le Prudent* on the muddy Shoal of the other side, burned down to the Water's Edge, with a great deal of her Iron and Guns staring us in the Face—Buoys of slipped Anchors *bobbing* very thick upon the

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The Officer, who favoured me with the foregoing journal, could not send me the particulars of the capitulation, these matters not being usually made known to the army in form; however our Commanding Officer has inabled me to supply that defect by the following authentic particulars from the Agent at Boston, who says he copied them from the accounts transmitted by his Excellency Governor Lawrence, Brigadier-General on that expedition, to his Excellency Governor Pownal.

Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies Admiral Boscawen, Major-General Amherst, and his Excellency Monsieur Drucour, Knight of the order of St. Louis, Governor of the royal island of Louisbourg, of the island of St. John, and their dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

Article I.—The garrison of Louisbourg shall be prisoners of war, and shall be transported to England in his Britannic Majesty's ships.

Article II.—The whole of the artillery, warlike stores, and provisions, as well as arms of all kinds, which are at present

Surface of the Water in the Channel towards the Town—a Number of small Craft and Boats towards that Shore, some intirely *under* Water, others with part of their Masts standing *out of* it; besides the *stranded* Hulls, Irons and Guns of the *three Ships* burned on the 21st, upon the Mud towards the *Barrasoy* and in the N.E. Harbour little else to be seen but Masts, Yards and Rigging *floating up and down*, and Pieces of burned Masts, Bowsprits, &c. driven to the Waters Edge, and some Parts of the Shore edged with the *Tobacco Leaves* out of some of the Ships that had been destroyed—the whole a dismal scene of total Destruction."—*Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg*, pp. 49–50.

[2] Should be 355.

[3] See Appendix. Captain Bell, A.D.C. to General Wolfe, gives the number of the sick and wounded soldiers of the French side as 443
While the sick and wounded seamen amounted to 1347

Total 1790

The Chevalier de Drucour gives the loss of the garrison as 9 officers killed and 27 wounded; 93 privates killed and 210 wounded. (*Journal.*)

1758. September. in the town of Louisbourg, Isle Royal, and island of St. John, and their dependencies, shall be delivered, without the least waste, to the Com- [199] missaries which shall be appointed to receive them, for the use of his Britannic Majesty.

Article III.—The Governor shall give orders that the troops, which are on the island of St. John, and its dependencies, shall repair on board such ship of war, as the Admiral shall send to receive them.

Article IV.—The Porte Dauphin shall be delivered up to his Britannic Majesty's troops at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and the garrison, comprehending all those who have carried arms, shall be drawn up at noon upon the Esplanade, and lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war: and the garrison shall be embarked to be sent to England in a convenient time.

Article V.—The same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded which are in the hospitals, as those of his Britannic Majesty.

Article VI.—The merchants and their clerks, who have not borne arms, shall be transmitted to France in such manner as the Admiral shall judge proper.

Done at Louisbourg the 26th of July, 1758.

Signed—De Drucour.[1]

[1] The Chevalier de Drucour was a member of a noble Norman family. He entered the French service as a *garde de la marine* in 1719. He was appointed *enseigne de vaisseau* in 1731, *lieutenant de vaisseau* in 1741, and *lieutenant des gardes de la marine* in 1743. He was made *Chevalier de St. Louis* on March 14, 1749, and *capitaine de vaisseau* on May 17, 1751. On February 1, 1751, he was appointed Governor of Ile Royale. At Louisbourg, as elsewhere, instead of enriching himself from the King's revenue he expended his private patrimony in maintaining the dignity of his position. The main criticism of his administration seems to have been that he was too lenient towards the *Ordonnateur*, M. Prévost. He returned to the naval service in 1759, and died August 28, 1762.

(For the substance of this note the editor is indebted to Mr. J. S. McLennan, of Sydney, Cape Breton.)

A return of the state of the garrison when it surrendered, &c. 1758. September.

Regiment D'Artois [1]	466
„ de Bourgogne	414
„ de Cambise	608
Volontaires Etrangers	526
Twenty-four companies of Marines, and two of Artillery	1017
Inhabitants of both sexes	4000
Seamen, &c. &c.	2606
Total . .	9637

Among whom there are about 350 Officers of all ranks, including naval and military.

[1] "UNIFORM, WHEN RAISED, & COLONELS NAMES OF THE "SEVERAL CORPS COMPRISING THE FRENCH GARRISON "OF LOUISBOURG.

"47*th or Artillery*.—Was raised in 1670 under the name of Fusileers "to Guard the Cannon, Louis the 14th gave them the name of Royal Artillery "in 1673. This Regiment has hitherto consisted of 5 Battalions, but by an "Ordnance of the 8th December 1755, the Corps of Artillery, and that of "Engineers, were joined and called the Corps of Royal Artillery and Engineers "of France, and by another Ordnance of the 1st December, 1756, His Majesty "thought proper to augment the said Royal Corps, one Battalion, a Company "of Miners and one of Artificers, which made Six Battalions, Six Companies "of Miners and the like number of Artificers, each Battalion consists of Eight "hundred men of 16 Companies, 50 men each of which two are Sappers, 9 "Gunners and Five Bombadiers, making in all 4800 Artillerymen. Each of "these Battalions had as their head a Colonel Commandt., a Lieut. Colonel, "who has no Company, and qui joinssent chacun dans leur grades les mimes "prerogatives des Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels enpied d'infantine en "suivant le rang du Corps. The Companies of Miners and Artificers were "separately or with the Battalions, those of the Miners are each Sixty men, "and those of the Artificers are forty, that makes in all 360 miners, and 240 "artificers, the Six Eldest Captains of the Battalions, and the eldest Captain "of Miners and Artificers rank as Lieutenant Colonels.

"*Uniform*.—Blue Coat, lining, Cuffs, Waistcoat, Breeches and Stockings "red; Boot Sleeve, Cross Pockets, Brass Button Gilded, Gold laced Hat, and "black Cockade.

"31*st or Artois*.—Was raised in 1610 under Henry the 4th, it changed

1758. September. [200] A return of the artillery, ammunition, and stores, which fell into our hands upon the surrender of Louisbourg:

11 stands of colours.	200 spare carriages.
220 drums.	15000 stands of arms.
222 pieces of cannon.	4000 shells.
6 iron thirteen inch mortars,	14000 shot.
2 with iron beds.	200 boxes of small shot.
2 brass thirteen inch mortars.	5000 barrels of powder.
3 ten inch mortars.	10000 barrels of flour.
4 royals.	5000 barrels of beef and pork.

"rank in 1670, with the Royal raised 1615, which became the 2nd Battn. of "Orleans, so called from the Duke of that Brother to Louis 13th being their "Colonel.

"*Uniform.*—Greyish White Coat Red Waistcoat, Pockets, great escutchion "fashion, nine Buttons on them, Brass, Colonel, M. de Chevalier de Brienne.

"42*nd or Bourgoyne.*—Has two Battallions, raised by Louis 14th in 1668, "called after the Province of Bourgoyne.

"*Uniform.*—Greyish White Coat, Brass Buttons worked on Wood, Cross "Pockets and Gold laced Hatt, Colonel, M. L'Chevalier de Heronville.

"62*nd or Cambise.*—Was raised by Marshall de Vivonne in 1676 in Sicily "he was its first Colonel, Thyanges in 1688 Mortemart in 1702, Laval in 1712, "Tonnay Charante in 1729, Mortemart in 1731, and afterwards Laval, it has "2 Battalions.—Their having Party Colored lace and Buttons is said to be a "mark of distinction for good behaviour, whereas it was put on at first for the "Contrary.

"*Uniform.*—Greyish White Coat, Red Cuffs and Waistcoat, Lace White "and Yellow, Buttons Brass and Pewter to answer the Lace, a yellow thread "and White thro' the whole Hat, Gold and Silver lace.—Colonel, M. de "Cambis.

"*Voluntaire Etranger.*—White Coat, Green Cuffs, White Buttons.

"43*rd Royal Marine.*—Raised in 1669 of Companies franches of Marines "intended for the Sea Service in consequence of which, the Captains quitted "their Companies to serve in quality of Lieutenants of Men of War, which "many did, so this Regiment was put on Board the Navy and since that has "been employed in the land service it has two Battalions.

"*Uniform.*—Greyish White Coat, Cuffs, Collar, & Waistcoat blue, wrought "pewter Buttons Silver laced Hat. Officers, Silver Buttons on the Sleeves "Collar and Waistcoat.—Colonel, Monsr. De Levi Liran."—*Journal kept by —— Gordon, op. cit.*, pp. 150–51.

For fuller information regarding the French regiments, with plates illustrating the uniforms, see Susane, *Histoire de l'ancienne infanterie française.*

An account of the loss sustained by the French navy at Louisbourg.[1] 1758. September.

1	La Prudent . . .	74 Guns	Burnt.
2	L'Entreprennant . .	74	
3	Le Capricieux . .	64	
4	Le Celebre . . .	64	
5	Le Bienfaisant . .	64	Taken.
6	L'Echo	26	
7	The Diana . . .	36	
8	The Apollo . . .	50	Were sunk by the enemy in the harbour (as were also four large merchantmen).
	The Fidele . . .	22	
	The Chevre . . .	22	
	La Biche	18	
	Eleven Sail. .	514 Guns.	

This morning, at five o'clock, I commanded a large de- 7th.
tachment to the forests S. S. E. of our garrison, in order to

[1] In the original despatches dated on board the *Namur*, July 28, signed by Boscawen, the following particulars are given of the loss of the French navy:

1. "Burnt by the Boats of the Fleet under Capt. Leforey.
2. "Blown up and burnt by a Shot from the Marines Battery.
3. 4. "Burnt by the Entreprennant.
5. "Taken by the Boats of the Fleet—and towed from under the Walls of the Town into the north-east harbour by Capt. Balfour.
6. "Taken by his Majesty's ship Juno.
7. "Taken by his Majesty's ship Boreas.
8. "Sunk by the Enemy across the harbour's mouth to prevent the Fleets going in.

"I will not trouble you with the particular Detail of the Landing and Siege, but I cannot help mentioning a particular gallant action in the night between the 25th and 26th instant, the Boats of the Squadron were in two Divisions, detached under the Command of Captains Leforey and Balfour, to endeavour either to take or burn the Prudent of 74 and Bienfaisant of 64 Guns, the only remaining French ships in the harbour; in which they succeeded so well as to burn the former, she being aground, and take the latter and tow her into the north-east harbour, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the Cannon and Musketry of the Island Battery, Point Rochfort, and the Town; being favoured with a dark night, our Loss was inconsiderable, seven men killed and nine wounded."—*Record Office*, C.O. 5 : 53.

1758. September. cut down wood for a *feu de joie;* a parcel of carts belonging to the town's-people (which had never made their appearance since the arrival of our regiment, being carefully housed up) were sent out on this occasion, attended by their respective proprietors. Having discovered the remains of a fire still burning, we concluded some of the rabble had been sculking there; and, to prevent a surprise, the detachment was [201] subdivided, and marched by two distinct roads into the woods, in order to scour the country; we did not proceed above a mile, when, making no farther discovery, the whole rejoined, and marched back to our ground, where, after having posted the proper centinels, with a Serjeant and twelve men advanced a little way,—to defeat any attempt by these *gens de bois*, we set to work, and, in the space of a few hours, loaded thirty carts with timber and under-wood. We set fire to the forest in seven different places, and returned to the fort: had there been any wind abroad, these fires would probably have cleared a large tract of ground, which was our desire; but they died away before the evening. At noon the garrison marched out to the covered way: thirty-five guns were discharged from the ramparts, answered by twenty-one swivels from each of the blockhouses, and by three vollies from the troops. This evening the New-England artificers raised a large pile of the wood that was cut and drawn to the fort in the morning, and in the center of it erected two masts to the height of sixty feet, on the tops of which they fixed a barrel of pitch: at night-fall a rocket was thrown up as a signal for some fire-works to be played off, that had been prepared by the Gunners; and for lighting the pile, &c. which was done amidst the joyful acclamations of the troops and town's people of all ages and both sexes. One shilling per man was advanced to the soldiers, and the Officers, with other Gentlemen, repaired to the Commandant's quarters, where an entertainment was provided for them, as elegant as the place would admit of; his Majesty's health was drank with three cheers,

and a discharge of twenty-one guns: all the barracks and town were illuminated, and the night was concluded with great festivity and general good humour. 1758. September.

John Davis and his papers underwent a farther examination to-day: the Fort-Major and others appeared in behalf of the prisoner, and gave him an excellent character. It appeared, that, during the many years he has been settled here, he has often attended detachments marching out against the enemy in the capacity of a volunteer guide, and that [202] he always seemed to have his Majesty's service at heart: he confessed that his brother-in-law Johnston did once come here in the night, about ten months ago; that, seeing him unarmed, he asked him if he came to surrender; that, receiving a negative answer, he threatened to seize and deliver him to the garrison; and said, he would actually have done it, if his wife, who was then ill, had not leaped out of bed, and implored protection for her brother upon her knees; that between loyalty and affection he never underwent such a conflict in his life; that there were no cattle stolen from this place at that time, for that he sent the fellow away immediately, still persisting in his menace of informing against him, if ever he should presume to shew his face here again: and that moreover he told his wife in Johnston's presence, that, if ever he, or any of her kindred, should meet with the least encouragement from her, while he (the prisoner) lived, he would put her on board of the first vessel outward bound, and transport her to the continent. He added, that he now supposed, if any information was brought or sent by the enemy against him, it was the result of malice. He concluded with saying he was an Englishman born; that he and his father had been Serjeants, and his grandfather a Surgeon, in the army; and that no consideration whatever could influence him to act the Traytor to King George and Old England. This man was acquitted to the satisfaction of the garrison, as well as the inhabitants of the town, was instantly 10th.

1758. September. enlarged, had his papers returned to him, and was restored to all former emoluments.

16th. This morning the Fort-Major, with Mr. Dyson, two Officers, and twenty men, went down to the entrance of this river, in order to reconnoitre the bay. They carried telescopes with them, to try if they could make any discoveries towards St. John's harbour, or the adjacent country: they returned late in the evening without seeing any thing remarkable.

23d. This day arrived his Majesty's sloop of war, Captain Rogers, from St. John's river; by whom we learn that Brigadier Monckton, with the 35th and second battalion of Royal American regiments, a de- [203] tachment of the royal train of artillery, and a large body of rangers, had arrived in that river on Saturday the 16th instant; that they landed without opposition, hoisted British colours on the old French fort, were repairing it with all expedition, and building barracks for a garrison of three hundred men.[1] This gentleman adds, that, upon his ship's first entering that harbour, he saw three of the enemy; that one of them fired his piece up in the air as a signal, and then they ran off into the woods; that the Brigadier is making preparations to proceed farther up the river with a parcel of armed sloops and schooners, in order to destroy some storehouses, and an Indian settlement, that are about twenty-five leagues up that river, beyond our New Fort.* Captain Rogers says, that some prisoners who were taken at Louisbourg gave information, that, if our expedition there had miscarried, the enemy were determined to make

[1] Monckton's *Journal* of his expedition up the St. John River is in *Canadian Archives*, M. 211–1 (C.O. 5:54; formerly A. & W. I. 89–1). It has been printed, with map and annotations, in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, ii. (1904), 163 *et seq.*

* This is the service that was intended to be performed by Brigadier Lawrence with the 27th, 43d, and 46th regiments, in August 1757; but was prevented by two of these corps being ordered to proceed with the main body of the army to the southward, upon the news of the unhappy fate of fort William-Henry.—*Note by author.*

themselves masters of Annapolis Royal, Fort Cumberland, and Fort Edward; after which they proposed to surprise and burn the town of Halifax; and all these gallant feats were to have been performed before the expiration of this autumn. By a letter which the Commanding Officer here was favoured with from Brigadier Monckton, we have the following particulars:——That Sir Charles Hardy, with seven ships of the line, and the three following regiments under Brigadier Wolfe, viz. the 15th, 28th, and 58th, were gone to destroy all the French settlements on the river St. Lawrence, as high up as Gaspée bay; that four hundred rangers and regulars, under the command of the Major[1] of the 35th regiment, were landed at Cape Sable, in order to rout the Indians and others from thence; and that two armed sloops keep cruising off that cape for the Major's service, and to prevent the vermin from getting off in their ca- [204] noes. The Brigadier said he had intended that we should send a detachment from hence, to assist those at Cape Sable, in case the inhabitants had directed their course this way; but, recollecting the weakness of our garrison, he laid that project aside, and has sent orders here to keep close and not suffer the soldiers or inhabitants to stray to any distance. Our Major was also favoured with the following disposition of the troops, viz. the 22d, 28th, 40th, and 45th regiments are established at Louisbourg; the 15th, 58th, and 3d battalion of Royal Americans, commanded by Governor Lawrence, at Halifax; the 1st, 17th, 47th, 48th, and Fraser's Highlanders are gone to Boston to proceed to the army. 1758. September.

This morning the Ulysses sloop of war sailed for St. John's harbour: the Fort-Major was sent to Brigadier Monckton, to give him a true state of this garrison, respecting its almost defenceless condition, together with our barracks, soldiers bedding, and many & cætera's correspondent therewith, particularly 25th.

[1] Henry Fletcher, appointed Major of the 35th Regiment, December 25, 1755.

1758. September. the difficulties we undergo in the article of firing, and the want of candle-light for the troops here during the winter-season.

26th. A sloop arrived here from Old York[1] with timber, planks, and boards, for the new fort at St. John's river.

27th. Also this day a schooner from Boston, with cattle, liquors, and vegetables, for the same place. By this last vessel we have the pleasure to learn, that Colonel Bradstreet[2] was detached from lake George with three thousand men, composed of regular and provincial troops, besides a body of savages, to lake Ontario, in order to undertake the demolition of Fort Frontenac,[3] where the enemy had a grand magazine;

[1] Portsmouth, Maine, U.S.A.

[2] John Bradstreet was born in Horbling, Lincolnshire, England, in 1711. He served in Pepperell's expedition against Louisbourg, and in 1746 was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of St. John's, Newfoundland. In 1755 he was Adjutant-General to Governor Shirely, and assisted in the unsuccessful expedition against Niagara. On December 27, 1757, he received the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Under Abercromby and Amherst he held the position of Deputy Quartermaster-General in America. In the Pontiac War he commanded the expedition which in 1764 proceeded from Albany by way of Oswego and Niagara to the relief of Detroit, where the submission of many of the Indians was obtained, but he was severely criticised for his conduct. On May 25, 1772, he was created Major-General, and died in New York city, September 25. *An Impartial Account of Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet's Expedition to Fort Frontenac* was published in 1759.

[3] "Frontenac, called by the natives Cadaraqui, is a fort advantageously situated for a trade with the Iroquese, or five nations; for their villages lie in the neighbourhood of the lake which bears the same name, and on which it is built, and by whose means they may transport their furs in canoes, with more ease than they can carry them overland to New York. It was built to suppress the ravages of these Indians, into the heart of whose country they can thence make excursions in twenty-four hours; but they demolished it in 1688, before which time it was a square consisting of large curtains, flanked with four little bastions; these flanks had but two battlements, and the walls so low that one might easily climb over them without a ladder; and all of it but indifferently fenced with mud banks and pallisades. It stands near the junction of lake Ontario with the great river St. Lawrence. It was here that the famous M. de la Sale built two barks, both which lie at this day sunk near the castle. It is about 150 miles S.W. from Montreal, and 100 leagues above Quebec. The winter about this place is much shorter than at Quebec, and the soil so well cultivated, as to yield all sorts of European and Indian corn, and other fruits."—*A Letter to the Rt. Hon. William Pitt from an Officer at Fort Frontenac*, London, 1759, pp. 2–3.

that the Colonel landed within a mile of the fort, on the 25th of August, without opposition; and the garrison surrendered on the 27th, consisting of one hundred and twenty Regulars, forty Indians and Canadians, with a few women and children, who are all prisoners of war.[1] They had in this fort sixty pieces of cannon, and sixteen mortars, of different calibres; an immense quantity of provisions, stores, and ammunition for the French troops, their barbarous [205] allies, and their numerous forts, S. S. W. and S. S. E. of Frontenac. The Colonel also made himself master of nine armed vessels, mounting from eight to eighteen guns, which was all the naval force the enemy had on the Lake Ontario; that these vessels were richly laden, insomuch that the article of beaver-skins, and other furs, are valued by the French at seventy thousand Louis-d'ors. We are likewise informed, that our troops have burned and destroyed the fort, provisions, magazines, stores, artillery, and all the vessels except the two largest, on board of which the Colonel had removed the skins and other most valuable prizes: that the enemy have sustained a fatal blow by this expedition, and the consequences will be very great to us, as it will not only facilitate Brigadier Forbes's operations against Fort du Quesne and the country of the Ohio, but also (as it is supposed) defeat the designs of the enemy against our forts and settlements upon the Mohawk river.[2] This enter- 1758. September.

[1] The text of the Capitulation is given in the Appendix.

[2] Bradstreet's report to Abercromby, dated Oswego, August 31, 1758, is as follows:

"I Landed with the Troops within a mile of Fort Frontenac without Opposition the 25th. The Garrison surrender'd Prisoners of War the 27th between 7 & 8 in the morning. It was a square Fort of 100 yards the exterior side, and had in it 110 Men, some Women Children, and Indians, Sixty Pieces of Cannon (half of which was mounted) sixteen small Mortars with an immense quantity of Provisions and Goods to be sent to the Troops gone to oppose B. G. Forbes, their western Garrisons, Indians, and to support the Army under the Command of Monsr Levy on his intended Enterprize against the Mohawk River valued by the French at 800,000 Livres. We have likewise taken 9 Vessells from 8 to 18 Guns, which is all they have upon the Lake, two of which I have brought here, One richly Laden, & with the Rest

1758. September. prise does great honour to General Abercromby, as well as to Colonel Bradstreet, who so gallantly executed it.[1]

28th. Several sloops arrived to-day with stores of all kinds for St. John's: the reason of their touching at this place is to be ascertained of our fleet and forces being there before them. Mr. Commissary Winslow landed here this day, by whom we had the satisfaction to receive a large parcel of European and other letters. Among these I was favoured with one from a brother Officer under Colonel Bradstreet, dated from Oswego; which, as it contains no other particulars than a confirmation of the foregoing account of that successful undertaking, I think it unnecessary to recite it here.—Mr. Winslow informs us, that the 43d regiment will be relieved in a month's time, but our destination he could not give us any account of. There are letters here to the same purpose, with this difference, that the detachments of the regiments here and at Fort Edward will shortly remove hence; but when or where—seems to be a matter of great consequence, and is kept more private than affairs of this nature seem to me to re- [206] quire. We learn from Fort Cumberland, (which I am inclined to think will be our next winter's quarters) that a Frenchman, husband to one of the female captives who was brought in there last summer by the rangers, advanced lately up to the fort, under a flag of truce, and surrendered himself, on account of his wife and children. We have the pleasure to hear, that

and Provisions I have burnt & destroyed with the Fort, Artillery, Stores &c. agreable to your Excellencys Instructions shou'd I succeed. The Garrison made no scrupple of saying that their Troops to the Southward and Western Garrisons will suffer greatly if not entirely Starve, for want of the Provisions & Vessells We have destroyed, as they have not any left to bring them home from Niagara."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 209–2 (C.O. 5:50; formerly A. & W. I. 87–2).

[1] Wolfe wrote to his friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Rickson, on December 1, 1758: "Bradstreet's *coup* was masterly. He is a very extraordinary man; and if such an excellent officer as the late Lord Howe had the use of Bradstreet's batoe knowledge, it would turn to a good public account" (Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 465). Others did not form so favourable an opinion of Bradstreet: see Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, vol. iii.

all the French families, who lived in the remote parts of the island of Cape Breton and St. John, are daily repairing to Louisbourg with their arms, to submit to the General's mercy. By the disposition his Excellency has made of the forces since the reduction of these islands, and the different services on which they are employed, the most effectual measures are pursued to extirpate the enemy from this province, and to disable them from ever making any figure in this part of the world. By all accounts the French troops pretend they were as well pleased to deliver up Louisbourg to us, as we are at the success of our arms*. They were greatly terrified with the apprehensions of a storm, and the consequences that would probably have followed. They also feared lest our Highlanders should not give them quarter; and that the army in general would make reprisals for the inhuman infraction of the capitulation of Fort William-Henry. These reasons, together with a consciousness of their having acted an ungenerous part, in the course of the siege, by discharging nails, hinges, latches, and all kinds of old iron, from their guns, where there was no scarcity of fair shot, was a sufficient cause for their suspicions and fears. *Thus conscience makes cowards, &c.* The Volontaires Etrangers, that composed part of their garrison, were originally raised for the King of Prussia's service; but, being betrayed, and sold to the French King, they were sent to America, and arrived [207] at Louisbourg a short time before our invasion of that island: a great many of the private soldiers are entertained in our troops, at their own request; and have promised to serve us faithfully, from principle, against the French; to whom they express having a natural and unalterable aversion. A plot was discovered at

1758. September.

* The French talk of the island of Minorca, since it fell into their hands, as if it was of such consequence, that Britain could not possibly subsist without it: but, as to Cape Breton and its dependencies, they are no loss to France; they are only a flea-bite, and Monsieurs were as glad to surrender them, as we could be in reducing them. Thus do these arch politicians affect to reconcile to themselves every event that can happen.—*Note by author.*

1758. September. Halifax, before Brigadier Monckton left that place: some Dutch settlers were to have assisted a detachment of Regulars, Acadians and Savages, under Monsieur Bois Hibert, to surprise and fire the town, and in the confusion to butcher all the troops and inhabitants; a cellar full of arms was discovered, and some of the conspirators were hanged. A night or two after the detection of this horrid affair, a great smoke was seen in the woods behind the town, which alarmed the garrison; the guards turned out, the troops repaired to their posts, and continued under arms for three nights; till at length the French partisan, finding no signal made for him, concluded the enterprise was discovered, and, therefore, thought proper to remove himself, and his barbarous accomplices, to some other quarter.[1]

October. Vessels are continually running between this port, Boston, Halifax, and St. John's, now fort Frederic; from the latter of these places our Fort-Major is returned; he says, that new fort will be a strong compact place, will mount twenty-one pieces of cannon, from fours to twelve pounders, besides several mortars, swivels, and wall-pieces; and that the barracks for the garrison are almost finished. Brigadier Monckton had detached a small reconnoitring party of rangers up the country; they proceeded to the distance of eighty miles, keeping the course of the river; and at their return reported, that they saw several large settlements, with fields of corn still standing, but did not discover any of the enemy. The prisoners that were at fort Cumberland have been sent down to fort Frederic, to serve as guides and pilots on the river St. John; they have 6th. informed the Brigadier, that Bois Hibert was expected to be at this time at the head of that river, with five hundred regulars and militia, and two hundred savages; but that upon the approach of our [208] armament they will retire, except they have lately received orders from Monsieur de Vaudreuil (Governor-General of Canada) to act otherwise: they add,

[1] We have found no corroboration of this story.

that the two privateers* are above the Falls, and may be easily recovered. Colonel James, of the 43d regiment, has lately sustained a great loss; his servant, who was a Frenchman, or Swiss, and had been many years a soldier in the regiment, deserted from fort Cumberland, and took with him near eighty guineas, a fusil, a pair of silver-mounted pistols, a sword mounted with the same metal, and several other articles; before he went off, he communicated his intentions to the French female prisoners, who gave him full directions about the road he should take, and the places where it was most probable he would fall in with the enemy; for which (and perhaps other favours) the deserter rewarded them with a hat full of silver, being dollars, fourths and eighths of the same money, as he apprehended such a quantity might be too weighty for him to carry away. A large party of regulars and rangers were sent in pursuit, but did not come up with him; they took one prisoner, destroyed a large settlement, and burned above two hundred bushels of wheat and other provisions. Brigadier Monckton, being immediately apprised of this robbery, detached a party of rangers as far as Pitscordiac river, in hopes to intercept the deserter; but they also returned without meeting him: they surprised two Frenchmen fishing, 1758. October.

* These privateers were the Eagle trading sloop, and the Endeavour schooner, who were surprised as they lay at anchor; Meares and Grow were the Masters, who with the other seamen were sent to Quebec.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] See p. 154. From the author's text it would seem that two vessels bearing the name *Eagle* were captured by the French; one, a schooner, of Boston, Mr. Thompson, master, was driven on shore on April 2, 1758, near Hare Island, and abandoned by its crew; the other, a sloop, Mr. Meares, master, was surprised while at anchor, and captured with the crew. Witherspoon writes in his *Journal* under date of June 17 [1758]: "About this time we had news from the River of Seant John's that they had taken a large scunner [schooner] bound up the Bay, loaded with lime, whom I found to be Capt. Grow of Old York, which I was very sorry to hear, sun after I heard Capt. Mayors of Boston being teaken, bound to Anaplous Royel with a fine cargow a thing they stood in great ned of." Later, when at Quebec, he speaks of Captain Grow and Captain Mayors being there likewise as prisoners. —*Journal of John Witherspoon*, pp. 34 *et seq.*

1758. October. who were taken, after a fruitless resistance; upon the return of the rangers to fort Frederic, the two prisoners were very sullen, and refused to give any intelligence; but, being threatened with a gibbet, they afterwards proved more open, and were very serviceable; Colonel James has since recovered the greatest part of the dollars and small money, which the French women had [209] concealed in some of their old rags, in holes of the chimney and other hiding-places of the apartment where they are confined.

15th. A sloop from New-York arrived to-day, and twelve recruits for the regiment; there are private letters by her, which mention, that the army, under Brigadier-General Forbes, have at length arrived within fifty miles of fort Du Quesne; that a party of eight hundred men were detached from thence to reconnoitre, and take post at an advantageous place in the neighbourhood, there to wait for the army: but, unfortunately falling in with a detachment of the enemy, (mostly Indians) our party was almost cut to pieces, and intirely routed; Major Grant (a very gallant Officer) of a battalion of young Highlanders commanded this advanced party, and is left behind, badly wounded; by all accounts, it has been a most painful campaign to Brigadier Forbes's army, they having incredible difficulties to cope with, being obliged to
18th. fight for every inch of ground they gain in their march.

Other letters mention, that this rencounter happened at fort Du Quesne, and that the Major was attacked by a vigorous *sortie* from two forts of the same name, at a small distance from each other; the one being on the river Ohio, and the other upon a branch of it. Last night, about ten o'clock, we had an uncommon fall of rain, and, an hour after, it was followed by the most dreadful storm that ever was known in this country, with the wind at west; it did considerable damage here, such as breaking down dikes and fences, tearing up espaliers and other trees in the gardens, staving boats and canoes, besides stripping our barracks and the

two blockhouses: the tide rose above thirty feet[1] higher than usual, and a sloop from New-York, that lay at anchor close to the wharf, was dragged from thence to the upper end of the town, staved the hull of an old sloop that lay by the side of the road or street, beat down several inclosures, drove against a Merchant's storehouse, which thereby re- [210] ceived great prejudice; and with her bowsprit almost stripped his dwelling-house adjoining, and there fixed herself. 1758. October.

This being the day of his Majesty's happy coronation, the same was duly observed: after the firing, all the men off duty, together with the artificers and town's-people, went up to the New-York sloop, and in vain endeavoured to launch her. 22d.

We had a fall of snow last night, which to-day is above our ancles; the winter sets in earlier and with a greater prospect of rigour, than it did last year; the inhabitants are unanimous in their opinion, that our last was a remarkable mild one, for this climate. 25th.

A sloop is returned from fort Frederic; the Master of her assures us, that the Cape Sable detachment have been very successful; that they surprised one hundred men, women, and children, whom they made prisoners; burned and destroyed all their settlements, and sent their captives to Halifax, to be transmitted from thence to Europe. With inconceivable pleasure we now behold the situation of affairs most happily changed, in this province, by the glorious success of his Majesty's arms at Louisbourg: the wretched inhabitants of this country, as well French, as the Aborigines, are now paying dear for all their inhuman and barbarous treatment of British subjects, and feeling the just weight of our resentment. 27th.

A few nights ago, as the Ulysses sloop of war was going over the Falls on St. John's river above fort Frederic, she struck and instantly sunk; there were not any lives lost;

[1] This would be impossible; perhaps he means three feet, or thirty inches. (*Professor Ganong*).

1758. October. most of the casks and many other articles (military stores excepted) floated towards the shore, and have been since recovered.

28th. Brigadier Monckton and the forces are gone up the river from Fort Frederic; this intelligence is received by a brig from thence, who was dispatched here for provisions, iron work, a forge and bellows, &c. &c. and also for some Smiths and Carpenters. Troops that are confined to the retired forts in this country lead a very insipid, [211] disagreeable kind of life; soldiers are naturally fond of variety and activity; the want of a good collection of books * is a very sensible loss to the Officers, and the constant sameness in all we hear and see is tiresome, one day being the dull duplicate of another.—This situation of affairs has induced the Officers of this garrison to address Major Elliot, by letter, requesting him to transmit our sentiments to Colonel James, and to intreat he will apply to the Commander in Chief, without loss of time, in the name of the whole corps, that the 43d regiment may be employed with the army in the ensuing campaign. This has produced a discovery of a circumstance, which has been hitherto preserved with great secrecy, viz. that the whole regiment will meet at fort Cumberland by the latter end of this month, until which time, our application may be postponed.

November. 1st. Moderate weather to-day. A party of men, with several

* Upon a revisal of this work, I find I have elsewhere mentioned our great loss in this particular, and I think I ought now to account for it:—When we left Europe in 1757, the general prevailing opinion was, that the reduction of Cape Breton would put a final period to the war in America; that Louisbourg would be garrisoned by New-England troops, and that the army would return to Great Britain, to be employed on other services; these political sentiments, how shallow soever they may appear, were frequently impressed upon us by people of high rank and authority, who ought to have known better: and to them only can be attributed the neglect paid by the Officers of each corps to the purchase of a good regimental library, for their entertainment as well as improvement. I earnestly recommend it to my military brethren to pay strict attention to this circumstance for the future.—*Note by author.*

Officers, went to the orchards, scoured the country, for several miles, without making the least discovery, and returned to the fort about two o'clock in the afternoon, loaded with apples. 1758. November.

We have variety of weather, and very cold for the season; this day was celebrated, as, I hope, it always will be, by every true Briton, and sincere friend to his country and the present government. We have at length, after incredible difficulty, launched the New-York sloop with very little damage. 4th.

[212] Our Chaplain gave us an excellent discourse to-day, suitable to this anniversary;[1] a smart frost, with some snow:—the Snowbirds are coming in now in numerous flocks, which the inhabitants look upon as a prelude to a severe winter. 5th.

A Master of a vessel from Casco Bay is impowered to treat with the Commanding Officer for land in this district, in behalf of thirty-five families, who are desirous to remove here from the eastern parts of New-England; he says, if they have good encouragement, it will probably be productive of five hundred families coming over to settle here; our Commandant has referred him to Brigadier Monckton, at fort Frederic.

Frosty weather, with violent drifts of snow; the Officers of the civil branch of this garrison, and the inhabitants of the town, propose to apply, without loss of time, to Governor Lawrence, for new grants of lands on this river, as also to have their old ones renewed; they expect to procure a great number of settlers from the southward. 8th.

It froze so hard these two nights past, that the Officers had pleasant skaiting to-day; the air is uncommonly cold; his Majesty's birth-day was celebrated as usual; at night several rockets were thrown up, and other fire-works of a curious construction exhibited. 10th.

High wind and rain: a vessel is arrived from Boston with provisions; the Master informs us, that two agents sailed some 15th.

[1] Guy Fawkes Day.

1758. November. time ago for Halifax, in behalf of thirty families, who are desirous to settle at the head of this river; he says they are an Irish colony, mostly weavers, and of other branches of the linen manufactory: we have the pleasure to be assured, that Major-General Amherst is appointed Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in America, and Colonel of the 60th regiment (consisting of four battalions) and that Colonel Gage is preferred to be a Brigadier-General.[1] We have also the satisfaction to be credibly informed, that the army under General Forbes has lately gained a signal victory, with [213] inconsiderable loss, over the enemy, at or near Loyal Hanning, on their march to fort Du Quesne. Brigadier Wolfe has been also successful at Gaspée, and the N. N. E. parts of this province; has made some hundreds of prisoners, and burned, among other settlements, a most valuable one called Mont Louis: the Intendant of the place offered one hundred and fifty thousand livres to ransom that town and its environs, which were nobly rejected: all their magazines of corn, dried fish, barrelled eels, and other provisions, which they had for

[1] Thomas Gage, second son of Thomas, first Viscount Gage, in the peerage of Ireland, and Benedicta Hall, of High Meadow, Gloucestershire, was born in 1721. On January 30, 1741, he received a commission as Lieutenant in Cholmondeley's regiment (afterwards the 48th Foot). In 1745 he was Captain in an Irish regiment which fought at Culloden, and in 1748 Major of the 55th Regiment, which after the reduction to a peace footing in that year became the 44th. On March 2, 1751, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment, which he accompanied to America under Braddock in 1754. He served with gallantry in the unsuccessful expedition against Fort Duquesne, and was wounded. He took part in Abercromby's campaign of 1758, succeeded Sir William Johnson at Niagara in 1759, and accompanied Amherst to Montreal in 1760. After the capitulation he was made Lieutenant-Governor of Montreal. In 1761 he was made Major-General, and in 1763 succeeded Amherst as Commander-in-Chief in North America, an office which he held until 1772. In 1770 he became a Lieutenant-General. In 1774 he succeeded Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts Bay, where he had the difficult task of attempting to curb the growing revolutionary sentiment. His administration saw the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and the siege of Boston. In 1775 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in North America, but soon resigned and returned to England. In April, 1782, the rank of General was conferred upon him. He died April 2, 1787.

1758. November.

themselves and the market of Quebec, were all destroyed; wherever he went with his troops, desolation followed; but he would not suffer the least barbarity to be committed upon any of the persons of the wretched inhabitants.[1] Among the captives made by the Cape Sable detachment, is Monsieur De Senclave, a French Missionary.[2] Governor Lawrence has published a proclamation, for the immediate settlement of this

[1] Captain Bell, A.D.C. to General Wolfe, furnishes some interesting notes of the expedition to Gaspé after the reduction of Louisbourg. As this journal is still unpublished an extract from it may prove of interest to the reader.

"August 29. Sailed from Louisbourg Harb. for Gaspée in the Royal William, Sir Charles Hardy, Bedford, Capt. Fowke, Vanguard, Cpt. Swanton, Devonshire, Capt. Gordon, Lancaster, Capn. Man, Pembroke, Capn. Simcoe, Juno & Kennington frigates & fireship, six sail of Transports having Amherst's, Anstruther's & Bragg's Regiments on board an ordnance sloop with some six Pounders & 2 Howitzers & anchored at the Grand Grave in Gaspée Bay the 4th September. . . . It was about 2 o'clock when we anchored in the Bay, the General went directly up to reconnoitre & sent me with a letter & flag of truce to M. Revolte, the Lord of the Seignory. I got up to Gaspée about 5. the people imagined we were enemies & had fled to the woods, the General who got up rather before me, mett with one pierre Arbour & his wife, who submitted & rejoiced to find Quarter given them. they were sent to bring in the other Inhabitants, the Genl also took 5 more with Revolte's Commissy who were sent also to bring in the rest. we did not go on shore in order to prevent plundering & returned on board the Juno after having escaped drowning very narrowly. the next morning we went up again with Coll. Murray & Howe. found about 3000 Quentil of fish in staks in the magazine were great numbers of netts, Hooks, fishing Lines, some Barrells of Gunpowder, some Brandy, & Pork. there were also a few Cattle, sheep, Ducks & Fowls belonging to Revolte (who died a little before with the hearty curses of the whole place). Amherst's Light Infantry landed and took possession of this great settlement, consisting of Revolt's House, a good Magazine, a Smith's shop with its utensils, about 5 Hutts, the Fish: 25 Shaloupes, 6 Canoes & a large Shaloupe going to Quebeck. Arbour was there & said the Inhabitants were fled up the two arms. the Commissy, left a letter to say he was gone after the Inhabitants. spent this Day without vivres & had the pleasure of consoling myself at night on the Boards next to Coll. How. on the 6th next morning, very early we went up the hither arm. Arbour was Pilott, a very difficult Channel, the shoals of sand running from both shores, so as to make it very narrow, Shaloupes only can go up at high water, the Tide flows 6 feet. we saw in a

[2] The story of Father Desenclaves throws an interesting light on the history of Acadia during the period preceding the deportation. See Appendix.

1758. November. province. An Officer at fort Cumberland writes to his brother here, that the regiment is to be imprisoned this winter at that place, and that the Colonel is in daily expectation of us; in consequence of this certain information, we have packed up, and prepared for our removal.

little Bay above 50 Shaloupes (they always lay them up there in winter) a mile further some people hawling a shaloupe laden with fish & on receiving a good many assurances of Quarter, they at last promised to go down with their shaloupe. about 5 mile farther at the upper end of the arm saw a number of people & rowed tow^{ds} them, but after getting about 2 mile we found the Channel ceased, two of the people came to us in a canoe, the General sent me back in the Canoe, to assure Madam Revolte & the rest of the kind treatment the English always give to their prisoners, she said, she and the rest only waited for the Tide to carry them to the Penisle where we all returned & spent the remainder of the day in picking Cranberry's & Raspberry's; the above arm winds a little, in some parts 3/4 and 1 mile & 1/2 over, the marks to go up are particular Hills which 'tis not possible to lay down so as to be of any service :—on the 7th at day break we went up the farther arm having heard some of the people were there, 'tis ten mile up to the Morass, the Channel the same in regard to its difficulty as to other, we took 8 men here & sent them down in the Barge (1 an Indian) then went to a saw mill just bye where we found a vast number of plank, we immediately fell to work & sett fire to the Moulin, plank & 3 houses, which blazed very handsomely to the no small grief of the poor people, we found a great many shaloupes here & there ; we came back by land along the shore which was not the pleasantest walk in the world, nothing but stones extremely slippery & every 3 yards a great Tree to get over ; it may be walk'd up both arms at low water on the left hand side, this farther arm runs in two small Channels thro' a marsh about 15 mile up the Country, the hither arm runs thro' a marsh also in 3 Channels, the General went down in the aftern^{n} to the R. William & left me to take of the people & stores, we found on our coming down to the penisle some women & Children—on the 8th the Army & Navy had some fish & the Cattle distributed among them, in the afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing Madam Revolte, who said that there were about 16 men would not come in, a party was sent to day but they could not find them.

"9th the General came up again & sent a party at low water (about 12 at night) who brought in next morn^{g}, except six who escaped by its being so very dark.

"10th the General gave orders for every thing being burnt & this day and the 11th was employed in executing those orders we all returned with the General to the Camp at the Grand Grave—on the 12th sailed Coll. Murray with Amhersts & part of Bragg's under Convoy of the Juno to Miramichi—on the 13th Cap. Irvine was detached with several small parties in Shaloupes under Convoy of the Kennington to destroy Pas beau & Grand Riviere and any other settlements to the Westward. On the 14th Major Dalling was

A VIEW OF GASPÉ BAY IN THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE

Showing the house on the beach in which General Wolfe resided. Drawn on the spot by Captain Hervey Smyth; engraved by Peter Mazell. London: T. Jefferys, 1760

A hard frost for these two days: several uncommonly large fires are seen this day, at a very great distance towards the head of this river, which we suppose to be occasioned by parties from the Cape Sable detachment, who are burning settlements, and clearing the country. 1758. November. 17th.

detached to Mont Lewis about 130 mile up the River. (we remained with a few of Bragg's & Anstruther's encamp^{t}).

"17th sailed Sir C Hardy, he left the Devonshire to take care of the Trans^{pts}.

"23rd returned Major Dalling.

"24th returned Sir C. Hardy.

"25th
"26th Embarked the Troops.

"27th sailed.

"30th Arrived at Louisbourg & went on board Adm^{l} Boscawen with Y^{e} General.

Gaspée

"The Bay is a very fine good anchoring Ground, any fleet may ride here in safety, the inward Bay formed by the sand is perhaps one of the best in the world, an excellent for a rendez^{s}. for ships going to Quebeck the water is remarkably good the property of fishing there belonged to a Mr. Revolte, who paid the King or at least the Intendant a certain sum a year, there were about 300 inhabitants here when the war broke out who finding by Cap. Spry of the Fouqueux's visiting them, they would in all probability be one Day carried off & their settlement destroyed, quitted it. This Gentleman soon after he sailed from Gaspée got to the Harbour of Pas beau & told the Land officers that where he was was a bad place for his ship to lay in, and therefore if they did not go on shore directly & burn every thing, he would not stay for them as His Maj^{ts} ship was in danger, observe this Cap. Jacobs was sent purposely to protect & wait till the Land officers thought it proper to come off, the General's Instructions to them were to go on shore with the greatest Circumspection & endeavour by all manner of means to assure the Inhabitants of good treatment & bring them to Gaspée, which they would have done had not they been threatened being left, and also that if they did not burn the places M^{r} Jacobs would who hinted as if the going on shore at all was not agreeable, they immediately went, landed & found the Inhabitants all fled, & every thing was burnt.

Pas Beau

"Is 15 Leagues to the westward of Gaspée I forget who had the Segniory, they burnt 27 good Houses about 17 indifferent ones, about 3500 Quentil of fish, a very good sloop laden with fish, vast Quantities of netts, hooks, Lines, great Quantity of salt destroyed, their Magazine was large & contained all their winter stock, Cloathes, Brandy etc. & I together with a good deal of plank and about 40 Shaloupes were all burnt & then the troops embarked,

1758. November. 19th. Some guns were heard this morning from the bay, which, we conjecture, are to notify the return of Brigadier Monckton, and the troops, from the upper part of St. John's river to

having left the miserable inhabitants in the woods destitute & deprived of every thing.

Grand Riviere

"Is 12 Leagues to the westw^{d} of Gaspée. A M^{r} Bellfeuille, Lord of the Seignory, the Troops who landed here proceeded in the same manner with those at Pas beau, by the most scandalous timidity of Cap. Jacobs who made the signal twice to come off before they had been on shore 3 Hours which was not a Quarter time enough to burn every thing: Bellefeuille's House was situated upon a little Island in the River, had 8 rooms on a floor vast Quantities of things pack'd up in Bureaus and Chests to send in safety to Quebeck, the people fled leaving the victuals on the fire, about 600 Houses were burnt, many good one's, & all the goods in them about 80 Shaloupes: there were sheep, oxen, Fowls etc. both at this place and Pas beau; the Magazine was very large and contained a considerable Quantity of Brandy and salt: 200 Chests of warm dresses, valuable in this country, 60 Casks of molasses whose worth an American need not be told, & numbers of other things that they took no account of, 8000 Quentil of fish & netts Lines Hooks without number, all the above valuable things were destroyed.

"There needs no great discernment to perceive the bad Consequences of Cap. Jacob's presuming to stint the Land officers in time (indeed if they had behaved properly they would not have heeded him, but let him have gone, as they might reasonably have supposed the General w^{d} have taken care of their being fetched back) for had they gone on shore agreeable to the General's intentions & stayed 2 or 3 days without destroying any thing, and sent the french men (they carried on purpose) into the woods to assure their Countrymen of the good treatment they w^{d} meet with & that they might keep any thing they chose, the Consequences would have been totally different, they would have been happy and the troops benefitted, but as it was, what could these unhappy people hope for, when they saw their all in flames without the least Ceremony, surely they could not expect any thing gentle at our hands—not that they deserved better, but for our own Honor we ought to have proceeded differently.

"The General when the Kennington came back, finding how matters had gone on, out of compassion to the Inhabitants, sent a Shaloupe to Bellfeuille with french men in to tell him, that he was sorry his officers were obliged to act in the manner they did, far from their own Inclinations or His Intentions, but as he thought he & all the Inhabitants must perish in the winter having no subsistance & thinking it too late to march to Quebeck he sent that Shaloupe to fetch him, & would send others for his people but if he & his people preferred Liberty, the Shaloupe was at his service & the men in her had their Liberty.—an offer worthy of the General—we sailed, no answer having come. The Seamen at both places, shewed their accustomed rage for plundering in a very shamefull manner, they got so drunk that a shaloupe full of our soldiers owed their lifes to a french man who managed the Boat."

fort Frederic; we are in hourly expectation of being relieved by a detachment of the 35th regiment. A schooner is arrived here to-day, after a passage of four days only, from Boston; this is very remarkable, that run being often from eight to fourteen days, but generally six or seven; she is bound to fort Frederic with King's pro- [214] visions, and was put in here by a contrary wind; it blows fresh with a gentle frost. 1758. November.

An hospital ship with sick men, and a small sloop with convalescents belonging to the 35th regiment, together with their Surgeon, arrived this day from fort Frederic. 21st.

Some transports arrived this morning, with part of the relief from the new fort; Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher came on shore in the afternoon, and was saluted by eleven guns. 22d.

The remainder of the detachment sailed up to-day, amounting in all to five companies; the establishment of the regiment is one thousand men, and the Adjutant assures me they do not want above eighty men to complete the ten companies, which is a trifling number, considering the services whereon that corps have been employed these seven months past. The other half of the regiment is stationed between fort Frederic and fort Edward, three companies at the former of these places, and two at the latter; the battalion of Royal Americans, that was employed with the 35th, are sailed, under Brigadier Monckton to Halifax: the rangers are cantoned throughout the province as usual, and the light infantry, which were composed of chosen men from the different regiments, are returned to their respective corps. 23d.

The detachment of the 35th disembarked to-day, and marched into the fort; part of our baggage was put on board the transports; the weather has been raw and wet for several days past. We have the pleasure of meeting with some of our old acquaintances among the Officers of this new garrison, who inform us, that, when Brigadier Monckton and the forces were landing at St. John's, a body of two hundred Indians, who always inhabited the banks of that river, lay in ambush 24th.

1758. November. on the top of a cave, or headland, which commands the place of disembarkation; that they were very eager to fire upon our troops, but were prevented by some of their Sachems or Chiefs, who told them, 'that, if they proposed making peace 'with the English, which, in the present [215] situation of 'affairs, they earnestly exhorted them to think of, this would 'be a bad way to effect it.' Upon this advice, they retired, and proceeded up the country to consult with their good friends the French, to whom they imparted their intentions of burying the hatchet, and brightening the chain with the British Governor; but an ignorant Priest, disapproving their conduct, scolded and abused them for not endeavouring to oppose the landing of the forces, diverted them from their pacific resolutions, and decoyed them to escort and accompany him to Canada. This intelligence they received from some prisoners they took in their expedition up that river, where they found the two traders, of which the enemy had possessed themselves some months ago.[1] In the course of this service several settlements were destroyed, about forty captives were made, and almost an hundred head of black cattle killed. This armament did not proceed to the head of St. John's river; for, the winter setting in earlier than usual, and with greater severity, they

[1] "Novb[r]. ye 17th. . . . Late this Night Maj[r] Scott returns from Pitcoudiack, & brings with him the Schooner & Sloop, & about 30 Men, Women & Children—He found the Schooner & Sloop in two different Creeks near the Head of the River—By the Reports of the Several Partys the Maj[r] Sent out, they destroy'd upwards of 150 Houses & Barns—Much grain, & a good many Cattle—The Houses had been but verry lately Evacuated—One Lieut McCormack of Capt McCurdys Company—with three of his Men, & two of the Light Infantry of the 35th Straggling too far, were taken—By the Prisoners the Majr Learnt that the Captain of the Privateer was at Miramichi—getting a Wound in his Heel Cur'd—Which he had got in the Spring When Capt Dank's Company of Rangers fell in with a Party of them—they Likewise told him, that there were upwards of 200 Indians, when we landed at St. John's River—but that their Chief would not suffer them to fire, but retir'd with them up the River—That upon their Return to Oauckpack, their Settlement—About two Leagues above St Anns—Pere Germain their Priest—expecting as he term'd it—Quelque Coup de Trahison from them, March'd them off for Canada."—*Monckton's Journal.*

were apprehensive of being frozen up, and therefore returned to the fort, which they found completed for the reception of its new garrison. 1758. November.

The three companies of the 43d, with the remainder of our baggage, embarked this morning for fort Cumberland; but, the wind being contrary, and blowing hard, we were detained here for several days: we were very fortunate in not being able to sail immediately, as we have thereby escaped some very bad weather and a great storm; we have now a hard frost, and the air is inconceivably cold. 25th.

Being curious in my inquiries about the river St. John, a very ingenious sensible Officer of the 35th regiment * informed me, that he surveyed that river in his passage up and down; that it is spacious and deep, for he also took the soundings of it; that [216] at the broadest part it is above three miles over, and, at the narrowest, something less than one mile; that there is sufficient water for ships of four or five hundred tons burthen; and, in short, he spoke of it with great raptures and praises. This agreeable gentleman promised me a sight of his observations and remarks, which he had reduced to writing; but, not being able to get at his papers (as he had not yet opened his baggage) and we being both unsettled during my stay here, I lost that satisfaction: I remember I asked him, how it came to pass, that the Ulysses [2] sloop of war 26th.

* This accomplished worthy fellow was Captain Ince,[1] who died of the wounds he received at the second battle of Quebec, and was well known in the polite world for his fine voice, great taste, and still greater judgment, in music; he departed universally lamented.—*Note by author.*

[1] Charles Ince, appointed Captain, 35th Regiment, February 24, 1756.

[2] Monckton in his report of the proceedings of the troops in the expedition to the St. John River in 1758 says, under the date of October 21:

"Having got together several Sloops & Schooners & Victual'd them—I order Cobb, & Rogers to pass the Falls—to cover the other Vessels as they might be able to get through.—They accordingly get under way—Cobb being the Headmost passed the Narrows, but is too late to get over the Falls, and oblig'd to come too in a little Cove below. The Ulysses Capt. Rogers—In passing the Narrows strikes on a Rock And is drove by the Tide into a Creek above Cobb —Where the Vessell sunk in a short time—And it was with great difficulty,

1758. November. was lost in sailing upwards? To this he replied, the fault, if any, lay in the pilot, and not in the navigation; and that this loss was merely accidental.

27th. A hard frost, with showers of sleet, and it blows fresh: late last night a vessel arrived, under bare poles, from Halifax, with provisions; the Master informs us, that several outrages and barbarities have been lately committed by the savages on the back settlements of New-England; they told our people, that they were collecting a body of one thousand of their brethren, which, with two thousand French that the Governor of Canada has promised to send with them, they proposed to storm and retake Louisbourg before the expiration of this winter, and broil all the garrison; a party of three hundred volunteers are gone out in pursuit of these bloodhounds.

28th. The Officers of the 35th regiment have the same allowance of provisions that was ordered by the Earl of Loudoun at Halifax camp, and four women, per company, draw equally as the private men. This new garrison will be obliged to cut all their own fire-wood; and, that no time might be lost, the Colonel demanded felling axes from the stores, which being duly delivered, they instantly sent out parties for this purpose, whereby it appears how closely the troops are employed in this country during the winter, as well as summer seasons.

29th. [217] No alteration in wind and weather: our ships fell down the river this morning, and anchored in the bason; there came on a thick fog with some snow. While our detachment were detained at Annapolis, the Officers were most hospitably and politely entertained by Fort-Major Phillips, Mr. Dyson and his family, with whom, and the gentlemen of the 35th regiment, we lived very happily.

30th. Being detained here to-day with the same wind and

the Light Infantry who were in her—and Crew were saved—Upon hearing this, & that Cobb did not lay very safe—I ordered him down again, and verry luckily—for at Low Water he would have struck on the Rocks."

October 23: "The Master of the Man of War tryes—but in vain, to get up the Ulysses."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 211-1 (C.O. 5: 54).

weather, I went on shore at Bear Island, with a brother Officer and a few men, to get some fire-wood, and to divert ourselves; we found great plenty of game, and had good sport; this island is about half a mile in circumference, and laid out in orchards, with the ruins of a few houses on it; one of our men, in discharging his piece at a flock of ducks, slightly wounded the Officer who accompanied me, with some grains of shot. About noon a snow-storm coming on obliged us to return to our ship; lower down in the center of the bason lies Goat Island, which, with the other, add much to the beauty of this excellent harbour;—here a large fleet may ride in the greatest safety, having every-where a sufficient depth of water, good anchorage, and it is not in any respect exceptionable, but by the difficulty of ships working in or out, the entrance being very narrow. 1758. November.

We weighed this morning about eight o'clock, and attempted to get out into the bay; but not consulting the proper time of tide, we were obliged to put back, and come to an anchor: about noon we weighed again with the tide of ebb, and little wind falling, with an agitated sea, occasioned by conflicting currents, our transport missed stays, and we narrowly escaped being wrecked upon a lee shore, where the vessel would probably have been dashed to pieces, the western side of the entrance being a complete ledge of rocks, the Master instantly fell upon his knees, crying out,—'What shall we do? 'I vow, I fear we shall be all lost, let us go to prayers; what 'can we do, dear Jonathan?'—Jonathan went forward, muttering to himself, 'Do—I vow, Ebenezer, I don't know [218] 'what we shall do, any more than thyself;' when fortunately one of our soldiers (who was a thorough-bred seaman, and had served several years on board a ship of war, and afterwards in a privateer) hearing and seeing the helpless state of mind, which our poor New-England-men were under, and our sloop driving towards the shore, called out 'Why, d—— your eyes 'and limbs,—down with her sails, and let her drive a—e fore- December. 1st.

1758. December. 'most; what the devil signifies your praying and canting 'now?'—Ebenezer, quickly taking the hint, called to Jonathan to lower the sails, saying, 'he vowed he believed that young 'man's advice was very good, but wished he had not de- 'livered it so profanely.' However, it answered to our wish; every thing that was necessary was transacted instantaneously; the soldier gave directions, and, seizing the helm, we soon recovered ourselves, cleared the streight, and drove into the bay stern foremost.*[1]

2d. This day about noon we arrived safe in the bason of fort Cumberland, after an agreeable passage and moderate weather; as our quarters were ready for us, we landed immediately, and marched up to the fort; they have had frost and snow here invariably these six weeks past, and the cold is so intense, that we are at once sensible of the difference between this climate and that of Annapolis. Our arrival here gives great pleasure to our friends, as they have been under apprehensions, for some time past, of a visit from the enemy, who threaten to come and retake this fortress, or destroy it by fire. Soon after we had disembarked, it blew very hard, which was succeeded by a great snow storm.

6th. The remaining company of the 43d regiment arrived this day from fort Edward, after a disagreeable passage of eight days, du- [219] ring which time they encountered a great deal of very rough weather.

9th. This day Major Elliot, and the rest of the Officers of the regiment, presented a memorial to Colonel James, requesting him to apply to the Commander in Chief to grant orders to

* I find this is no new practice; for M. Charlevoix, an eminent French writer, says, that, by reason of the narrowness of the entrance, and the strong tides and currents which set through this place, only one ship can pass in or out at a time, and that must be stern foremost.[2]—*Note by author.*

[1] This gut has always presented difficulties to sailing vessels, because of its strong tides. Champlain was shipwrecked there once, and on another occasion narrowly escaped.

[2] *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France . . . par le P. De Charlevoix* (Paris, 1744), vol. i. p. 116.

the 43d regiment to join the army early in the spring, upon whatever service they may be destined,—which the Colonel has chearfully complied with. No alteration in the weather since our arrival, except it's being inconceivably rigorous. 1758. December.

A weekly state and monthly return of this, and every other regiment in this province, are ordered to be transmitted regularly to his Excellency General Amherst, with duplicates to Governor Lawrence; and, if it shall so happen that opportunity does not serve to send them punctually, they must nevertheless be signed every week and month, and forwarded by the next conveyance that may offer.

The following is the detail of the duty of this garrison.

Guards.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Gunners.	Drummers.	Privates.	
Main, eldest Officer,	1	1	2	1	1	40	
Covered way,	1	1	1	...	1	30	
Reserve,	1	1	1	...	1	20	mounts at night-fall.
Blockhouse,	...	1	...	1	...	12	
Hospital,	...	1	...	...	...	8	
Wood-yard,	...	...	1	...	...	6	
Hay-yard,	...	...	1	...	...	6	
Spruce-brewhouse,	...	...	1	...	...	6	
Total	3	5	7	2	3	128	

[220] The Colonel is ordered to provide the regiment with flannel under-waistcoats, and Leggers, or Indian stockings; here follows a description of them: 12th.

Leggers, Leggins, or Indian spatterdashes, are usually made of frize, or other coarse woollen cloth; they should be at least three quarters of a yard in length; each Leggin about three quarters wide (which is three by three) then double it, and sew it together from end to end, within four, five, or six inches of the outside selvages, fitting this long, narrow bag to the shape

1758. December. of the leg; the flaps to be on the outside, which serve to wrap over the skin, or fore-part of the leg, tied round under the knee, and above the ancle, with garters of the same colour; by which the legs are preserved from many fatal accidents, that may happen by briars, stumps of trees, or under-wood, &c. in marching through a close, woody country. The army have made an ingenious addition to them, by putting a tongue, or sloped piece before, as there is in the lower part of a spatterdash; and a strap fixed to it under the heart of the foot, which fastens under the outside ancle with a button. By these improvements they cover part of the instep below the shoe-buckle, and the quarters all round; the Indians generally ornament the flaps with beads of various colours, as they do their Moggosan, or slipper; for my part, I think them clumsy, and not at all military; yet I confess they are highly necessary in North America; nevertheless, if they were made without the flap, and to button on the outside of the leg, in like manner as a spatterdash, they would answer full as well: but this is matter of opinion.

The air is clear with exceeding hard frost, and the natural colour of the earth is concealed from us. In some conversation which I had to-day with the French prisoners, they informed me, that, last year, when we were intrenching our camp before this fort, the enemy were sculking about us every night, and were very anxious to take a prisoner, by whom they might get intelligence of our numbers; that the person who appeared on the shore on horseback [221] (north of the river Tanta Mere) was Monsieur Bois Hibert, who was then returned from Cape Breton, with eighty regulars, two hundred and fifty militia, and three hundred savages: they remained a week in that post, hoping to decoy a party from our camp; and, upon defeating them, they intended to pursue the party up into the fort, before they or the troops could recollect themselves, and thereby become masters of the place; but, at length finding we took no notice of them, provisions being scarce, and the

Success ship of war[1] having fired at their Commanding Officer, and into their camp, they thought proper to retire: I inquired why they did not attempt a surprise upon our trenches; but Monsieur Hibert told them, that would not answer their purpose so well, as rushing into the fort upon us unexpectedly; and that, if he could have effected that matter, he would have bid defiance to the troops in camp.—I think we were rather unfortunate that they did not undertake this *coup*, for, it seems, they thought we had only a small guard or two in the fort by day, and that the garrison as well as the 28th and 43d regiments, were all at work in the trenches; it was for a certainty of this, that they were so very solicitous for a prisoner. 1758. December.

The rigour of the winter here is inconceivable, yet every body is remarkably healthy; the air is quite serene, and the sun shines almost every day; perhaps that benign luminary is concealed from us once in four, five or six days, when a snow-storm sets in, which, however, does not continue above twenty-four hours, and then we have clear weather again. 20th.

This solemn festival was duly observed. 25th.

Our retired situation here does not afford constant materials for my pen, which (as the reader may suppose) is the reason of my passing over many days in silence. A large bear rushed out of the woods between the gibbet and the blockhouse; he seemed to be hard pressed, whence we conclude he was hunted by the enemy: he afforded us excellent sport for almost an hour, and several pieces [222] were discharged at him; but at length, directing his course towards the bason, he escaped by swimming a-cross the bay. 1759. January. 1st.

Our principal amusement here is skaiting; the marshes, having been overflowed before the frost set in, afford us now a scope of several miles: a quantity of coals and wood were laid in here before our arrival from Annapolis; but, being almost

[1] Captain Gibbon.

1759. January. exhausted, the ranging company are now employed in providing fuel for us: the allowance to each fire-place is "one quarter of a cord of wood, and two bushels of coals, weekly, for forty weeks; or half that allowance for every seven days throughout the year." The French prisoners have the same proportion, and are served with provisions in like manner as the private soldiers.

20th. The weather inconceivably severe, continual frost and snow; the latter is several feet in depth, and sets in with thick drifts and high wind: it may seem a paradox to say it rains frost; but that is actually often the case in this country. This day two soldiers walked out a few miles on the road leading to Gasperau and Bay Verde, and, seeing a man lie dead at some distance before them, they returned instantly, and apprised the Commanding Officer therewith: a Serjeant and eighteen men were detached with a hand-sleigh to bring home the corpse; so little did we apprehend any danger, that the Officers have been out daily for some time past, either walking, shooting, or riding. In the evening the party returned, and brought with them the remains of one of our best grenadiers, who was stripped of every thing except his shirt and breeches, and had two different parts of his scull scalped: to his shirt was pinned a letter from Lieutenant M'Cormuck, of the rangers, who was made prisoner last August, in some other part of this province; directed to Captain Lieutenant Armstrong, of the ranging company at fort Cumberland; and upon the superscription was wrote, *On his Majesty's service.* The author did not date his letter, nor does he mention from what place he wrote it; whence, and from other circumstances, we conclude Mr. M'Cormuck was compelled to write it, [223] in order to insure good quarter and kind treatment to the inhuman bearer of it, if he had fallen into our hands. The following is an extract of that letter:

'—— After all the misery I underwent until I arrived

'here, where I am with the King's Officers, who are very kind 1759. January.
'to me—&c. the bearer is our Commanding Officer's brother
'here, who has been so kind as to cause the French that took
'me to deliver me my watch, keys, rings, and every thing they
'took from me; and I live like a petty Prince among them,
'having my liberty upon my parole: so that I earnestly beg, if
'he should happen to fall into your hands there, to use him, or
'any of his party, as kind as you can; which will be of great
'service to me, and all other poor captives in Canada, &c. &c.

'Yours sincerely,

'Cæsar M'Cormuck, Lieutenant.'[1]

[*N.B.* Captain Armstrong makes no doubt of its being that Gentleman's hand-writing.]

The rolls of the companies being immediately called, it appeared that one Serjeant, and three privates of the rangers, together with seven of our soldiers, were missing; and as they were seen going out to cut wood this morning (contrary to repeated orders) we suspect they are either killed, or prisoners with the enemy.

The whole company of rangers went out this morning to 21st.
scour the country towards Bay Verde: they returned in the afternoon, and brought with them a sleigh which our unhappy sufferers had taken out with them, and on it were laid the bodies of four of our men, and one ranger, who were killed and scalped; the rest are still missing: at the place where these unfortunate people were way-laid, there was a regular ambush, and designed probably against the rangers, who have been out, for some weeks, cutting and cording wood for the garrison, and seldom missed a day, except the weather was

[1] Cæsar McCormick was taken prisoner to Miramichi and was afterwards removed to Restigouche. Pierre Du Calvet, the keeper of the stores, seems to have treated him kindly. McCormick wrote several letters similar to the above, but whether they were signed under pressure or not we are unable to say. He was released in 1759.—*The Case of Peter Du Calvet* (London, 1784), pp. 3–9.

1759. January. uncommonly severe, which was the case yesterday; [224] and their not going was providential, for they are generally too remiss upon service, and so little did they suspect any danger, that the half of them went out without arms, and they who carried any were not loaded. The victims were fired at from the right side of the road, being shot through the right breast; all were wounded in the same place, except one who had not a gun-shot wound about him, but was killed by a hatchet or tomahock a-cross the neck, under the hinder part of his scull; never was greater or more wanton barbarity perpetrated, as appears by these poor creatures, who, it is evident, have been all scalped alive; for their hands, respectively, were clasped together under their polls, and their limbs were horridly distorted, truly expressive of the agonies in which they died: in this manner they froze, not unlike figures, or statues, which are variously displayed on pedestals in the gardens of the curious. The ranger was stripped naked, as he came into the world; the soldiers were not, except two, who had their new cloathing on them; these (that is the coats only) were taken: I am told this is a distinction always made between regulars and others; the head of the man who escaped the fire; was flayed before he received his *coup mortel*, which is evident from this circumstance, that, after the intire cap was taken off, the hinder part of the scull was wantonly broken into small pieces; the ranger's body was all marked with a stick, and some blood in hieroglyphic characters, which shewed that great deliberation was used in this barbarous dirty work. The bloodhounds came on snow-shoes, or rackets, the country being now so deep with snow, as to render it impossible to march without them; they returned towards Gaspereau, and we imagine they came from Mirrimichie,[1] there being no settlement of them (as we suppose) nearer to us on that side of the country.

22d. Our men were buried this afternoon, and, as we could not

[1] Miramichi.

break or stretch their limbs, the sleigh was covered intirely with boards, and a large pit was made in the snow, to the depth of several feet, where they are to remain for some time; for the earth is [225] so impenetrably bound up with frost, that it is impracticable to break ground, even with pick-axes or crow-irons; their funeral was very decent, and all the Officers attended them to the burying-place. Our men appear greatly irritated at the inhuman lot of their friends, and express the greatest concern lest we should not permit them to make reprisals, whenever a favourable opportunity may offer. In these northern countries, any people that happen to die after the winter sets-in are only left under the snow until the beginning of summer, for spring I cannot call it, there being no such season in this part of the world. With respect to fresh provisions of any kind, it is also customary to kill them about the middle of November, and leave them in an airy out-house, or other place where the frost will soon affect them; so that there is nothing more common than to eat beef, mutton, or poultry, in March or April, that were dead five months before: hares and fowl, as soon as killed, are hung up in their skins and feathers, and without being drawn, until they are wanted; at which time, by steeping them (or any butcher's meat) for a time in cold water, and not merely immerging, as some writers and travellers aver, they become pliable, and fit for any purpose that the cook may require. 1759. January.

One Captain, one Subaltern, and sixty men of the 43d regiment, have been under orders these few days past to attend, as a covering-party, on the rangers, while they are employed in wood-cutting; but, the weather being at present so uncommonly severe, they cannot stir out; this is to be continued for the remainder of the winter, whenever it can be found practicable. The frost is so intense, that many of our soldiers have had their noses, ears, and fingers nipped, or frost-bitten; for which there is no other remedy, than to 26th.

1759. January. have the part affected well rubbed with snow by a warm hand, and to keep clear of fire. The garrison were shewn their alarm-posts this day, as follows: one company on the Prince of Wales's bastion; one, on the Duke of Cumberland's; one, on Prince Frederic's; the grenadiers on the parade, in the fort; one company at [226] the place of arms behind the carpenter's shop; (N.B. this covers the gateway of the fort) one, on Prince Edward's bastion; one, on Prince Henry's; one behind the magazine in the Spur; two, on the parade in the Spur; the rangers on the gateway of the Spur; and all the guards opposite to their guard-houses.—The Officer of artillery is to have forty men, of his own chusing, to assist in working the guns, &c. in case of an alarm; and he is to give in a return of their names this day to the Adjutant.

Nothing can equal the extreme bitterness of the season; yet our detachments are every day out at the wooding-place. All manner of provisions and liquors freeze with us; even rum and brandy do not escape the rigour of this winter: the Officers prefer sleeping in blankets, sheets being too cold for this northern climate.

February. The whole month of February[1] does not afford any materials: the weather still invariably the same; the inclemency whereof is not to be expressed; yet our wooding-parties are constantly employed on that fatiguing service, and the fuel, when cut, is drawn home by the soldiers on sleighs; the rangers forming the van, and scouring the woods on each side of the road, while some regulars bring up the rear. At the place where our poor fellows were lately waylaid and butchered, the enemy constructed an intrenchment of three faces, with logs of timber, in such manner as to flank the road, and enfilade the approaches to it; on the outside of each face were felled trees, with the tops laid outwards. From these precautions, it appears their malice was levelled against the rangers, with

[1] On February 14 the division of the fleet under Holmes sailed from Spithead, and the fleet under Saunders sailed on the 15th.

whom they probably expected and intended, after the first surprise, to have maintained a skirmish. 1759. February.

This anniversary[1] was celebrated by all the Officers as usual, and with great good humour; the colours were hoisted in compliment to the day. 1st.

Great thunder and lightning were seen and heard this morning, a circumstance very uncommon at this rigorous season of the year: the weather we have had, since the first of January, is not to be [227] conceived; in general it has been frost, with deep snow; sometimes, though not often, we had rain, which froze instantly as it fell, and softened the air for a short space of time; this was succeeded by a storm of wind and snow, which, in many places, lies above twenty feet deep, but in general not above four or five; sometimes the air has been thick and foggy, at others clear, with sun-shine. 3d.

This last night exceeded every thing we have ever met with in point of severity; the centinels could scarce keep their posts; many of them were so much affected, that it was found necessary to relieve them: two, who had been so ill as to be hardly able to speak, had each of them an half pint of good rum—poured down their throats, which recovered them instantly, but was not sufficient to intoxicate them: they were both remarkably sober men, and had frequently been rallied by their comrades for their abstemiousness. I mention this circumstance to shew, that it was not from habit, or the force of custom, that these men were not inebriated by such a quantity of spirituous liquor; for it is certain that every man, even the most temperate among us, can drink more wine, or stout punch, at this rigorous season, before he becomes innocently chearful, than he can at any other time of the year, or in a more moderate climate, with decency. It is the opinion of the suttlers, who have passed many winters in this province, and several years in this remote part of it, that this is the most severe winter they ever remember to have seen in Nova Scotia. 6th.

[1] St. David's Day: see p. 140.

1759. March. 17th The Officers, who are natives of Ireland, entertained all the gentlemen of this garrison at a suttling-house in the town: we were thirty-four in number, the Hibernians twenty. The private men of that country had half a dollar each advanced to them by their Captains; and those, who were immediately natives of Britain, took their tour of duty. Colonel James ordered the colours to be hoisted, and politely set the example of mounting a cross in his hat, which was followed by every Officer and other Gentlemen of the civil branch under his command. In order to give a farther specimen of the prices of [228] provisions here, I shall subjoin our bill of fare, with the charges annexed: but the reader must not infer from hence, that we always, or at any time, lived as well as we have done this day; for I never saw such good cheer before or since that day in America; and the several articles which composed this (Lord's Mayor's) feast, were with great pains preserved, throughout this whole winter, for the use of this day, though we have frequently since Christmas fared on the King's provisions alone.

	£	s.	d.
To salt-fish, parsnips, potatoes, &c.	0	18	6
To two buttocks of beef, 50½ lb. cabbage, roots, &c. .	1	12	6
To a leg of mutton, 7 lb. roots, &c.	0	9	6
To a ham, 11 lb. a turkey, cabbage, &c.	0	18	6
To another ham, 10 lb. four fowls, cabbage, &c. . .	1	2	10
To two surloins of beef, 54½ lb. salad, &c. . . .	1	12	10
To a hind quarter of veal, 10½ lb. fore quarter of ditto in a pie, 10½ lb.	1	6	6
To mutton in a pie, 10½ lb. 9s. 6d. a turkey and sauce, 11s. 6d.	1	1	0
To two apple pies, 10s. to two puddings, 6s. 6d. . .	0	16	6
Cheese 3s. soft bread and beer 12s.	0	15	0
To —— bowls of lemon punch	12	3	0
To —— dozen of red and white wine	5	8	0
To wine to the servants per order	0	16	0
To ditto to fifers and drummers per order . . .	0	10	0

This festival was joyously celebrated, and with the greatest mirth and good humour, the Officers, &c. having retired to

the fort before nine o'clock in the evening.[1] I cannot omit observing upon this occasion, that the army are such strangers to national reflections, that they are not even heard of among the private soldiers; and I could wish they were as sensibly and politely avoided by all other ranks of people. 1759. March.

[229] Provisions of all kinds are now grown scarce, and those issued from the stores are very indifferent: our men can neither get rum or spruce, and the Captains have not money to subsist them. With respect to some of the articles of the King's provisions, the men are put to short allowance through scarcity: even the Officers are sensible of these calamities. 25th.

A sloop, which has been frozen up here all this winter, has now got off by the assistance of the high tides, and sailed to Boston for supplies of all kinds for this garrison, and to hasten up any other vessels she may meet with, whether consigned to this or to other places. A small party of the enemy appeared in the skirts of the forest to the left of the blockhouse next to the marsh, where the Officers have been skaiting for the greatest part of this winter, when the weather permitted. 29th.

The sun is now so warm, and has such great effect upon the snow, that the sleighs will not run; so that the very disagreeable service of cutting and drawing wood can no longer be performed, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the poor soldiers and rangers: and, as the ice in the center of the bay is broken up, we give many a wishful look that way, hoping soon to have ships,—agreeable news,—and plenty, for the time to come. 30th.

The guns of the fort were sealed to-day. 31st.

Though we have hard frosts at night, the weather by day is pleasant, and much warmer than in Europe at this season. April. 1st.

[1] Whether the officers retired before nine o'clock on account of the blank number of bowls of punch or to set a good example, the author does not state; but it will be observed that whilst the generous joints of beef, hams, buttocks of beef, mutton, &c., amounted to £8, 12*s*. 8*d*., the unrecorded bowls of punch and a few bottles of wine amounted to £18, 17*s*.

1759. April. 4th. I never saw such great plenty of wildgeese and ducks, and in such numerous flocks, as at this time; by which we look upon the winter to be almost at an end: the wind is now fair for vessels to come up, and the bay is tolerably clear of ice.

5th. This day, about two o'clock, to the inconceivable pleasure of this garrison, a sail appeared at the Joggen, and soon after another came in sight, both which came up in the evening. These vessels, with two others bound for this port, have been for several weeks at Annapolis Royal, waiting until the weather should break up: they made many [230] efforts to come sooner, but were put back by contrary winds and floats of ice in the bay. From the above-mentioned fort we are informed, that some of the enemy have surrendered themselves to the Commanding Officer. The Captain of the rangers here has received a letter from Lieutenant Butler of the same corps at Fort Frederic, dated the 6th of last month, of which the following is an extract:—"Captain M'Curdie was killed by "the falling of a tree on the 30th of January; Lieutenant "Hazen[1] commands at present, who returned last night from

[1] "Brigadier-General Moses Hazen was born in the year 1733, and, it is supposed, belonged originally to Haverhill, Massachusetts; he served as Lieutenant in Captain McCurdie's company of Rangers in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758; after that officer's death, became a Captain of the company and commanded Fort Frederic, on the river St. John, where he laid waste the neighbouring country. He accompanied Wolfe to Quebec in 1759, and distinguished himself the next year, near that city, in a brush with the French and in the battle of Sillery, April 28, 1760.—*Knox's Journal*, i. 230, 320, 353; ii. 279, 293. As a reward for his services he received a commission of Lieutenant in the 44th Regiment of Foot on February 21, 1761 (*Army List*), but was placed on half-pay in 1763, after which he settled, it is said, near St. John's and furnished supplies to General Montgomery in 1775, on his invasion of Canada. Hazen's property was, in consequence, destroyed by the Loyalists and Regulars, whereupon he offered his services to Congress, by which he was appointed, in January, 1776, Colonel of the 2nd Canadian, or the Congress' own, regiment. He was in command of the district of Montreal the following season, but returned to Ticonderoga in the summer, where he was tried by court-martial on charges brought by General Arnold, and honourably acquitted.—4 *American Archives*, v. 761; 5 *ibid.*, i. 1124. He spent the following winter at Albany, recruiting. In June, 1781, he was appointed Brigadier-General, and retired from the army at the close

"a scout up this river. He marched from this fort the 18th 1759. April.
"of February, and went to St. Ann's;[1] the whole of the
"inhabitants being gone off, he burned one hundred and forty-
"seven dwelling-houses, two Mass-houses, besides all their
"barns, stables, granaries, &c.[2] He returned down the river
"about ———, where he found a house in a thick forest,
"with a number of cattle, horses, and hogs; these he de-
"stroyed. There was fire in the chimney; the people were
"gone off into the woods; he pursued, killed, and scalped
"six men, brought in four, with two women and three
"children; he returned to the house, set it on fire, threw the
"cattle into the flames, and arrived safe with his prisoners:
"he and the party well." By the aforesaid vessels we have at length received a confirmation of the great success of the army under Brigadier Forbes, the enemy having burnt and abandoned Fort Du Quesne on the 24th of November last, which the General took possession of, on the evening of that day, with his light troops, and his army arrived there on the 25th: the French retired towards the Mississippi, being deserted by their Indian allies, who have since put themselves under our protection.[3] Incredible are the hardships which

of the war. He died at Troy, New York, on the 3rd of February, 1803, in the 70th year of his age. Allen says he died on the 30th January, 1802."—*Biographical Dictionary.* (Extract from *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, viii. 777.)

[1] Now Fredericton.

[2] There seems to have been no excuse for the wanton destruction of property in the midst of winter. Some of the work would appear to have been carried on without authority.

[3] On November 26, 1758, General Forbes wrote a despatch, dated at "Fort Duquesne now Pittsbourg," describing his success:

"I have the pleasure of acquainting you with the signal success of His Majesties Arms over all His Enemies on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn, and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th inst., and of which I took possession with my light troops the same Evening, and with my little army the next day.—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats, and part by land to their Forts and settlements upon the Missisippi, being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their friends the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutrall part, after thoroughly

1759. April. that army have undergone in the course of the campaign; but, when success crowns our endeavours, it makes ample amends for all our toils, and inspires us with fresh vigour for farther enterprises. Our accounts of that large tract of country bordering on the river Ohio are extremely pleasing.

[231] Intelligence came to Annapolis, some weeks before we left that place, that a French ship of war, bound to Quebec, was lost in the streights of Belleisle; but, as this was not confirmed, I passed it by in silence: we have now the pleasure of having that event authenticated;[1] she was a sixty-gun ship, and had an immense quantity of arms, artillery, ammunition, and provisions on board, being very deeply laden, besides several bales of cloathing for the troops in Canada.—The 43d regiment are out daily at exercise, though the country still retains its winter habit, and the air is sharp. By these vessels we have got beef at five-pence per pound; mutton at six-pence; veal at nine-pence; eggs at eighteen-pence per dozen; and potatoes at five shillings per bushel. It is wonderful to see how fresh and good all these sundry articles are, and yet seven weeks are elapsed since these sloops sailed from Boston.

7th. A child to one of the French prisoners being taken ill, our Chaplain was sent for to baptise it; as I had the guard at the fort, the mother of it requested I would stand sponsor; which I complied with. I asked her what name she intended to give it; she replied, Elisha; but, at my desire, Cumberland was prefixed to it.[2]

8th. A command of regulars and rangers were detached this morning to Bay Verde, to reconnoitre the country.

convincing them in severall skirmishes, that all their attempts upon our advanced posts, in order to cut of our Communication, were vain, and to no purpose, so they now seem all willing, and well disposed to embrace His Majesties most gracious protection."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 211–1 (C.O. 5 : 54).

[1] Possibly the loss of an English vessel would have caused equal delight in the French camp.

[2] We have been unable to find any trace of the baptism of Cumberland-Elisha.

The detachment returned this day, without being able to make any discoveries; they heard several shots discharged, but at so great a distance, they conjecture they were rather at wild-fowl, than as signals of alarm. When the party had proceeded beyond the place where our rangers have been all the winter wood-cutting, the snow was so deep as to take them up to their waists, and, when they had reached the bay, they found it was intirely frozen up; they saw the island of St. John, but, the weather being hazy, their view was very imperfect. 1759. April. 10th.

A sloop arrived from New-York with King's provisions; by letters she has brought, we have reason to flatter ourselves that the 43d regiment will be sent upon service this campaign. 11th.

[232] As soon as Brigadier Forbes's army had reached Fort Du Quesne, he set about the necessary repairs, and, having rendered the place as defensible as possible, he garrisoned it by two hundred and forty Highlanders from Colonel Montgomery's corps, and fifty of the Royal Americans: the remainder of his forces he marched back to Philadelphia; but, before he took his departure, he conferred on his new conquest the name of Pittsburgh, in compliment to that super-eminent Statesman, the right honourable William Pitt *, Esq;[1]

* Since created Earl of Chatham.—*Note by author.*

[1] William Pitt was born in Westminster on November 15, 1708. He was the grandson of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras. In 1731 he entered the army as Cornet of Horse. Four years later he entered Parliament, and joined the "patriot" party in opposition to Walpole. After Walpole's fall, Pitt's entry into office was delayed by the hostility of the King. In 1746 he was appointed to the office of Paymaster-General of the Forces, where he distinguished himself by his strict probity. From 1754 to 1756 he opposed the administration of the Duke of Newcastle, whose feeble war policy gave ample opportunity for attack. In 1756 Newcastle resigned, and on December 4 Pitt became Secretary of State, and at once took vigorous measures to strengthen the army and the navy. On April 6, 1757, the King dismissed him, but the people demanded his recall. An alliance was arranged with Newcastle, and on June 29 he once more became Secretary of State, with supreme control of the war and of foreign affairs. For the next four years he gave his whole energies to the successful prosecution of the war with France. After the accession of George III, the new King and his favourite Bute worked to weaken Pitt's position. When

1759. April. by whose great abilities, excellent conduct, and the most steady exertion of the reins of government, our affairs, particularly in this new world, have assumed so prosperous an aspect. Another smaller fort, dependent on this, situated on a branch of the Ohio, the Brigadier also honoured with the epithet of Ligonier †, to perpetuate, in some measure, the just sense which he and the British forces entertain of that experienced General's high merit and long faithful services. By our farther accounts from that quarter, the late French garrison had perpetrated the most unheard-of barbarities upon all our prisoners: in the ruins of the fort are found pieces of human skulls, arms, legs, and other relics of their brutality, which were half burnt; after these monsters of butchery had sated themselves with this savage and unchristian treatment of some unfortunate captives, on the parade within the fortress they gave up the remainder to the Indians, who, according to their

Pitt, having learned of the "Family Compact" between France and Spain, proposed an attack on Spain, the majority of the Cabinet opposed him. He resigned on October 5, 1761. He strongly opposed the terms of peace with France in 1763. When the troubles with the American colonies broke out, he supported the Americans in their opposition to taxation by England. In 1766 he again entered office, accepted the title of Earl of Chatham, and was nominal head of the ministry till October 15, 1768, but owing to ill-health and growing eccentricities took little part in public affairs. From 1770 till his death his mental condition was improved, and he occasionally made brilliant speeches in opposition to the policy of Lord North. On April 7, 1778, while speaking in Parliament against the surrender of America, he fell backwards in a fit. He died on May 11, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

† Field-Marshal Ligonier, also since created an English Earl.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] John (or Jean Louis) Ligonier was born at Castres in the south of France in 1680. He was the son of a Huguenot, Louis de Ligonier, sieur de Monteuquet. He fled from France to Dublin in 1697. He served as a volunteer in Marlborough's army in 1702. He fought at Liège, Schellenberg (where he commanded a company), Blenheim, Ramillies, Menin (where he was Major of Brigade), Oudenarde, Wynendale, and Malplaquet (where he had twenty-three shots through his clothes and remained unhurt). In 1712 he was Governor of Fort St. Philip, Minorca. In 1718 he distinguished himself in the expedition to Vigo. In 1720 he was appointed Colonel of the 8th, or Black Horse, now the 7th Dragoons, and made it one of the finest regiments in Europe. He became Brigadier-General in 1735, Major-General in 1739. He commanded a

custom, tomahocked[1] and scalped them, one after another; and all this in presence of the unhappy sufferers, who remained to be the last victims of their rage and cruelty. Fort Ligonier is garrisoned by a detachment from Pittsburgh, which is relieved weekly or monthly, at the discretion of the Commanding-Officer. 1759. April.

We also learn that General Amherst is making vigorous preparations for an early campaign; that the provinces are raising many regiments; and that his Excellency, to avoid that confusion which [233] would otherwise happen, as well as to encourage the provincials, and to keep them under some kind of regularity, proposes to form all his batteau-men into companies of fifty each, under proper Officers, who are to raise their own men for their commissions; likewise the drivers of ox-teams and waggons are to be under the like regulations, and the whole army, destined for the service of the lakes, are to rendezvous at Albany, about the latter end of this month.

The 43d regiment are at exercise every morning, and discharge ammunition cartridges; in the afternoon the men are employed in firing at targets, in which they are encouraged by presents from their Officers, according to their several performances.

division at Dettingen in 1743, was made a Knight of the Bath by the King in person on the field of battle, and became Lieutenant-General the same year. At Fontenoy in 1745 he commanded the British Foot. On the outbreak of the Highland rising he was sent home, and given command in Lancashire. In 1746 he commanded the British troops in the Netherlands, and served in the battle of Roucoux. On December 30, 1746, he was appointed General of Horse, and in that capacity served at Laffeldt next year, where he greatly distinguished himself, but was made prisoner by the French. In 1748 he was elected to Parliament from Bath. He was made Governor of Guernsey in 1750, and of Plymouth in 1752. On the disgrace of the Duke of Cumberland, after the convention of Kloster-Seven, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, October 24, 1757. In 1759 he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, and in 1766 Field-Marshal. In 1757 he was created Viscount Ligonier of Enniskillen (changed to Clonmel in 1762) in the peerage of Ireland, in 1763 Baron Ligonier, and in 1766 Earl Ligonier of Ripley, both in the peerage of Great Britain.

[1] Tomahawk, sometimes Tomahack.

1759. April. 13th. This day the Monckton armed schooner, of this province, arrived here; the Pay-master of our regiment came passenger, and informs us, that, on the evening of the 5th instant, the Monckton, and a sloop also bound here, came to an anchor off Grindstone island, on the north shore; and both had agreed that the schooner should fire a gun on the morning following, as a signal to weigh, in order to their sailing together; this island lies near the entrance of Pitscordiac river. Accordingly on the next day, when the signal was given, a great shout was heard, and several shots of small arms; one of the Monckton's men cried out with some surprise,—'that's an Indian yell.' Upon which they instantly weighed, and stood for the sloop, who by this time was bearing down upon them: and, when the two vessels came within hailing, one of the captives called out,—'Take care of 'yourselves, we are all prisoners here;' and then another voice was heard to say,—'Lower your main sail, we are all French, 'and will give you good quarter.'—The schooner, without farther ceremony, plied her well with her swivels, and the sloop returned the salute with their small arms; at this they continued for some minutes, when, fortunately the wind springing up for fort Edward, the Monckton bore away for that place, maintaining a running fight with the sloop, who closely [234] pursued them for near five hours; when, finding no likelihood of making a capture of the schooner, the pirates thought proper to desist, and content themselves with what they had already acquired. The sloop's cargo consisted of beef, pork, flour, bread, rice, pease; rum of different sorts, various kinds of wine, sugar, lemons, beer; together with a great quantity of shoes, shirts, stockings, and a variety of other European articles, for the shopkeepers of this place. The Monckton (who had a boy killed and two men wounded) is likewise loaded with stores and provisions for this fortress, and the Pay-master had a considerable charge of money with him for the regiment's use. At fort Edward the schooner

got a command of one Serjeant, Corporal, and fourteen privates, and immediately prosecuted her voyage to this port: the Captain of her says, that the sloop must have been surprised and boarded by a parcel of canoes from the shore, there being no other vessel but themselves in that part of the bay. 1759. April.

The Master of one of the traders, who arrived here on the evening of the 5th, says, that, as he came up the bay, he saw a great smoke, with several boats and canoes on a part of the shore near Grindstone island; and being asked by the Colonel why he did not report these circumstances to him immediately on his arrival? Replied, he did not think it of much consequence, these matters being familiar to him in New-England. 14th.

Colonel James had the pleasure to receive orders from the Commander in Chief (through Brigadier Monckton) for the 43d regiment and Captain Danks's company of rangers to hold themselves in readiness to embark on board such transports as shall carry troops here to relieve them; that the rendezvous of the army, which is intended for an expedition up St. Lawrence river, under the command of Major-General Wolfe, will be at Louisbourg; this agreeable intelligence soon flew thro' the garrison, and nothing but continual huzza's were heard, for some hours, from the barracks, and were repeated in the evening by the soldiers assembled at roll- [235] calling, when each honest heart gladdened, which diffused itself conspicuously in every countenance. 14th.

The following orders were published this day:

"By order of his Excellency General Amherst, the 43d "regiment is to furnish one Captain, one Lieutenant, one "Ensign, three Serjeants, one Drummer, and seventy rank and "file, to form a company of light infantry; the Commanding "Officer to chuse the men and Officers who are to be appointed. "The Officers are to have provisions in the following propor-

1759. April. "tions, viz. a Colonel six rations per day; a Lieutenant-"Colonel, five; a Major, four; a Captain, three; a Lieutenant, "Ensign, Adjutant, Quarter-Master, and Chaplain, two rations "each; this allowance to commence from the first of Novem-"ber last, and four-pence per ration will be allowed for provi-"sions not drawn:—no Officer to be allowed provisions in a "double capacity."

Our friends at fort Edward sustained a great temporary loss this last winter, their barracks being by some accident burned to the ground; the detachment had time to save themselves and their effects. General Amherst has been pleased to remove the Captain-Lieutenant, who had been appointed last year in this regiment, into another corps, and filled up that vacancy with our eldest Lieutenant, who is succeeded by our senior Ensign; and he, by a young gentleman volunteer in the same regiment.[1]

The 43d regiment are now making the most of their time in exercising and firing at marks; in short, every man is employed in rubbing off the winter's rust, and putting themselves and their camp equipage in good condition for the field.

15th. This evening a sloop arrived from New-York with stores and provisions; by letters brought to the Colonel we learn, that this, and all the other fortresses in the province, are to be garrisoned by provincial troops, who have articled to serve until the latter end of [236] November next; the privates are to have one shilling currency per day, and ten pounds sterling each, at inlisting; six pounds of this entrance money (we hear) will be paid by the Government, and the remaining four by the Field-Officers and Captains; the latter, we are

[1] The name of the temporary Captain-Lieutenant does not appear in the *Army List*. Lieutenant William Dunbar was promoted to be Captain-Lieutenant of the 43rd Regiment; Ensign Nicholas Lysaght to be Lieutenant; and Henry Knight to be Ensign, all on December 25, 1758.

also told, will only receive six pounds per month of thirty days, the Lieutenants three pounds sixteen shillings, and the Ensigns three pounds only. 1759. April.

Another vessel arrived from Boston, with stores, liquors, and provisions; and a Lieutenant, with a number of recruits for the rangeing company, came passengers. A flag of truce appeared this day near the gibbet; the fellow who carried the flag was a peasant, and his companion had on a French uniform; they pretended they came to know if we would exchange prisoners, for they would be glad to release the male and female captives that are here; and also to barter skins and furs for provisions. It is rather supposed they came upon a treacherous design; therefore they received for answer, 'that 'they were a parcel of faithless inhuman dogs, and their Com- 'manders were no better; that we would neither treat with such 'savage *Gueux*, nor give them quarter, if they did not instantly 'depart from the limits of the fort, or surrender to his Majesty's 'mercy.' Upon this they abruptly turned tail, and when they had got a little way into the forest, a great war-shout was heard from many voices; by which we conjecture their party was numerous. 16th.

This day two sail-boats were seen to cross the bay below the Joggen; it is conjectured these pirates are either skulking to pick up intelligence, or to surprise another trader in the bay: towards night a great fall of snow. 21st.

St. George's anniversary was duly observed by all the garrison; our soldiers take quantities of excellent fish here by night-lines, they are mostly bass and gaspereau's, which are a species of herring. 23d.

[237] A Lieutenant and thirty rangers are ordered on board the Monckton schooner, to cruise up and down the bay, for the protection of traders. It rained and snowed violently this morning, in the evening cleared up and froze hard; people here do not attempt to break ground in their gardens, until the beginning or middle of the ensuing month. 25th.

1759. April. 26th. Two vessels sailed this morning for New-York, convoyed down the bay by the Monckton; as soon as they had weighed, some of the enemy peeped out of the woods on the north shore, and the armed schooner fired two swivels at them.

30th. The regiment daily out at exercise, and firing at the target; the Captain of the light infantry spares no pains to form his company, and render them expert for any kind of service; we begin now to be impatient for the troops who are expected to relieve us.

May. 5th.[1] Early this morning arrived Colonel Fry,[2] of the provincials, and eight transports; three others are still missing, who parted convoy in a gale of wind: we are to be conducted by the York province sloop off Chebucto harbour, and from thence proceed by ourselves to Louisbourg, where there is also a provincial regiment to be quartered, in the room of one of the regulars, who are to join us on the expedition. Four hundred of these young troops are to be stationed here; two hundred and fifty at Annapolis Royal; the same number at fort Frederic; and one hundred at fort Edward; besides one complete regiment at Halifax. The privates are a poor, mean, ragged set of men, of all sizes and ages; their Officers are sober, modest men, and such of them as have been upon service express themselves very distinctly and sensibly; but their ideas, like those who have not been out of their own country, or conversed much with Europeans, are naturally confined; they make a decent appearance, being cloathed in blue faced with scarlet, gilt buttons, laced waistcoats and hats; but their ordinary soldiers have no uniforms, nor do they affect any kind of regularity.

[238] The sloop, lately surprised off Grindstone island, has

[1] On this day Admiral Durell with the *Princess Amelia*, *Vanguard*, *Devonshire*, *Pembroke*, and *Prince of Orange* sailed from Halifax to blockade the St. Lawrence, and on the 28th he landed his troops under Guy Carleton at Isle aux Coudres, sixty miles below Quebec. If Durell had sailed a few days earlier he would have intercepted the French provision ships.

[2] Colonel Joseph Fry. He was a member of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1759.

been ransomed for fifteen hundred dollars; the Master left his son as an hostage for the payment of that sum: the enemy took all his cargo, and rifled him of every thing he had, but luckily did not discover a bag with six hundred dollars, which lay concealed in an unsuspected part of the vessel. 1759. May.

The rangers have got a new uniform cloathing; the ground is black ratteen or frize, lapelled and cuffed with blue; here follows a description of their dress: a waistcoat with sleeves, a short jacket without sleeves; only arm-holes, and wings to the shoulders (in like manner as the Grenadiers and Drummers of the army) white metal buttons, linen or canvas drawers, with a blue skirt, or short petticoat of stuff, made with a waistband and one button; this is open before, and does not extend quite to their knees: a pair of leggins of the same colour with their coat, which reach up to the middle of their thighs (without flaps [1]) and, from the calf of the leg downwards, they button like spatterdashes; with this active dress they wear blue bonnets, and, I think, in a great measure resemble our Highlanders.

Embarked our baggage to-day, which was attended with some trouble on account of the distance between the fort and the bason, with very unfavourable weather. 7th.

Two companies embarked to-day; the Monckton schooner returned from a cruise, and a vessel arrived from New-York with stores: blowing weather, with thick, foggy air and rain. 8th.

Two of the missing transports arrived late last night, one still remains to complete the new garrison. 9th.

The rest of our troops and baggage are embarked, except the rangers, who are to continue until the missing transport arrives; one of our regiment's transports, after a company were embarked, proving leaky, was surveyed and condemned: a trader was instantly impressed, and the company removed on board of her. 12th.

[1] The flaps did not appeal to the author's taste; see p. 286.

1759. May. [239] As we are now about to depart from his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia *, where the forty-third regiment have had the misfortune to undergo an inglorious exile of twenty-two months and upwards, separated not only from the busy active world, but likewise from those scenes of honour, in which, I can venture to affirm, every man, both commissioned and private, most ardently wished to have shared: I shall proceed to a review of our service and employment therein, to which I shall annex an historical account of the country, its soil, produce, &c. &c. and this shall be done in as concise a manner as possible, that the reader may not be detained from occurrences of much more importance.

The occupation of the troops, in this desert province, and particularly of the forty-third regiment, since our leaving Halifax (the capital thereof) in 1757, does not afford any great entertainment, and still less subject for speculation; for, besides the ordinary duty and defence of the forts they have occupied, cutting and providing wood, digging and drawing coals and sand, throwing up retrenchments, erecting redoubts of timber, and scouring the country in the environs of our respective posts, often with some loss on our side, and great barbarity on the part of the enemy, compose the affairs which have engrossed both our time and our attention; to this I may add

* So called by Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, Secretary of State for Scotland to King James the First, who gave him a grant of it in the year 1621; situated, W. lon. between 62 deg. and 72 min. N. lat. between 43 deg. and 49 min.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] Sir William Alexander named it New Scotland, and thus it was commonly called down to the Treaty of Utrecht, after which the half-century of dispute as to the limits of the province brought the original Latin charter into prominence, and with it the Latin form Nova Scotia. (See *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, vol. vii. (1901), sec. ii. 213–14.)

The longitudes and latitudes are curiously stated. The latitudes, if he meant, as doubtless he did, between 43 and 49 *degrees*, are approximately correct, but the longitude, really between 61 and 68, is erroneous, more so than are most of the maps of that time. The impossible "72 minutes" shows some error in the printing.

(All the notes on this description of Nova Scotia are by Professor W. F. Ganong.)

the distress we were often exposed to for fresh provisions and liquors, and the constant apprehensions we were under, from the very indifferent state of our fortresses, of a surprise from our inhospitable neighbours on every side, which obliged us to exert the utmost vigilance and circumspection, while we continued here; our exclusion from the world, for the space of two long winters, by the rivers, bays, and harbours being bound up with frost, together with our confinement within very narrow limits, and without even the benefit of riding, shooting, or being able to partake [240] of any other healthful exercise in safety, rendered our situation inconceivably irksome and disagreeable to men naturally fond of and accustomed to activity; our discontented reflections, under all these circumstances, may be better conceived than expressed.[1] 1759. May.

The government of Nova Scotia was merely nominal until the year 1747,[2] when a settlement was established by the then Governor, Cornwallis, on the west-side of Chebucto[3] harbour, called Halifax (before described) and is now the metropolis: here are two houses of assembly, called the upper and lower; the former is composed of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, who, with the Governor, are all appointed by the King; and the other is formed of the Representatives, who are chosen by the freeholders; to whose choice, however, the Governor has it in his power to object.

Though this province is situated in a very favourable part of the temperate zone, yet its winters are at least seven months long, four of which are almost insupportably severe; we are strangers here to the spring, that delightful season of the year in other countries; the winter being immediately succeeded by

[1] It is obvious that the author's judgment as to the merits of Nova Scotia was coloured very greatly by his unpleasant experiences in that country. Could he know it now, he would not apply the term "desert" to the thriving provinces which make up his Nova Scotia.

[2] This should be 1749.

[3] The Micmac Indian name of Halifax harbour. It means "the big inlet," or "the big bay."

1759. May. summer, which, though of no long continuance, is as much upon the extreme, for intolerable heat and close air, as the other is for intense cold. For some months the weather is very uncertain, often changing suddenly from fair and moderate to tempestuous and violent rains; from the latter end of May to the same time in September, they are wrapped up in the gloom of a perpetual fog, during which space, the musketa's, and other insects, are most incessantly tormenting, even by night, as well as by day; the autumnal season is of no long duration: and, notwithstanding the great extremes of weather, and severity of the winter months, it is an exceeding healthy climate, and agrees as well with strangers as with the natives, who are remarkable here for their longevity.[1]

In all the uplands, I observe the soil is thin and barren; and yet, what is very surprising, they are covered with large timber trees of [241] great length, and generally where there is not even an inch of mold, besides the skin of mossy turf which covers the rock: the lowlands, however, and the marshes, which are very extensive, afford a better prospect, particularly round the bay of Fundy, and on the banks of rivers: and, though at present the grass is everywhere interspersed with a cold spungy moss, yet the soil, if properly cultivated, might in the space of a few years produce good grain; and this I am inclined to believe from the excellent culinary and other roots, and vegetables of most kinds, raised by the inhabitants in their gardens; particularly pumpions, which, though much inferior to those raised in New-England, are nevertheless an excellent succedaneum to cabbage in the

[1] Our author's account of the climate, like his account of the country of Nova Scotia, is greatly exaggerated in the unfavourable direction by his own unfortunate experiences. The two winters he spent in the province appear, from his own account, to have been of exceptional severity, while the conditions under which his summers were passed prevented full appreciation of the excellence of the climate. He would have been astonished indeed to learn that this climate is now the chief attraction to many thousands of summer residents.

latter part of the winter.[1] The French have raised corn in many places, but I am told it was small and shrivelled; I know maze, or Indian corn, will not arrive to perfection in the neighbourhood of Annapolis; it grows tall and runs to seed, but will not ripen. I saw some potatoes that were sown, after the Irish manner, from excellent seed, and as good manure; yet they degenerated surprisingly, though it was a remarkable good season for that vegetable.[2] Upon the whole, tho' unpromising as this country seems to be, I have been informed by Gentlemen (who have seen more of it, and resided much longer here than I have done) that it is not uniformly bad, there being some tracts of land which will not (they say) yield to any of the best provinces to the southward *. 1759. May.

The trees, which are to be met with in the forests of Acadia, are oak, both red and white; black and white birch; some ash, but these are not very plentiful; maple and spruce, or spruss, with various other sorts of fir and pine trees; alder, willow, black and white thorn; beech, hasel, chestnut, apple, pear, plum, and cherry;[3] they have most kinds of fruit and

[1] The opinion expressed of the soil is more nearly correct than that of the climate. But the marshes of the Bay of Fundy, and those along the rivers (called "intervals" in Nova Scotia), are extremely rich when properly cultivated, those surrounding Fort Cumberland, indeed, being among the richest and most lasting soils of America. The pumpions we call now, of course, pumpkins.

[2] Maize, or Indian corn, comes to perfection throughout Nova Scotia in all suitable soils, and something other than the climate was at fault with that which the author saw near Annapolis. It is interesting to compare his impressions of the cultivation of vegetables round Annapolis with the enthusiastic accounts of the success of their gardens in the same region, given by Champlain and Lescarbot a century and a half earlier.

* I must observe, these Gentlemen are old proprietors, and consequently not altogether impartial.—*Note by author.*

[3] These trees, with three exceptions, do occur in the forests of Acadia. White oak and chestnut are both unknown in this region, and the author includes them probably on conventional grounds, rather than from observation, on the supposition that they must occur with the others. The same is true, no doubt, of his black and white thorn, for, while native hawthorns occur in Acadia, there is nothing to justify the distinction of kinds he makes. White thorn is a common English name for hawthorn, but black thorn is a European plant not found in this region.

1759. May. shrubs, as we have in England and many [242] of the latter altogether unknown to us; the woods every-where abound with strawberries, and a great choice of other spontaneous fruits, some of which Europeans are well acquainted with; others they are strangers to, and such we never presume to meddle with:[1] their timber trees, particularly the oak, fir, and maple, are of a most gigantic size, seemingly fit for ship and other buildings; the firing generally used is wood and some coals; but, if ever the country should be well inhabitted and settled, in such manner as not to apprehend any enemy, they will find excellent coal-pits, with plenty of peat or turf.[2]

I have seen but few of the various animals which, we are told by historians, infest the woods of this province; to such as came within my observation only I shall therefore confine myself: bears are about the size of a two years old calf (I have heard there are larger, but I write from my own knowledge, I have seen the skins of some as large as an ox or cow; but I am inclined to think they came from the remote northern parts of Canada, from Newfoundland, or elsewhere) they are of a rusty, black colour, and their hair long and thick; they are seemingly a heavy beast, yet their swiftness, when pursued, is inconceivable; their food is generally fruit, Indian corn, &c. and sometimes poultry, pigs, mice, &c.[3] Hares are in great plenty, though much smaller than in England, coming nearer to the size of a rabbit; and, when the snow sets in, they change from their natural colour to milk-white; this, however

[1] These remarks on the fruits of Nova Scotia are accurate as far as they go.

[2] The fir tree here meant is obviously the spruce, for the fir proper has neither great size nor considerable value. The size to which the oak attains in Nova Scotia is, however, exaggerated, for the red oak, the largest species, attains no size that can be described as gigantic. The excellent coal pits in various parts of the province have proved most valuable, and their abundance is a reason why the still more abundant peat is not yet of value.

[3] This description of the bear is excellent, except that we have no reason to suppose that any larger varieties occurred in Northern Canada or Newfoundland.

is not peculiar to hares alone, there being, in this, and other northern countries, many animals, and birds, which become white in the winter. 1759. May.

Having mentioned rabbits, I shall only observe, that I never saw or heard of any while I was in America; and this I impute to the great variety of other animals that borough in those northern parts, and which may, perhaps, be noxious to them: they may, for aught I know, have them in the more southern provinces, but these I am a stranger to.[1]

[243] Foxes are of different colours; red, or sandy, as in England; grey and black; the first of these are the most common; the last are very scarce. I am told they likewise change to white in winter; but I have seen them at that season, which only varied from those in Europe by having their feet, tips of their ears, muzzle, and the extremity of their tail, or brush, of a fine black;—this I am very certain of, for we had them chained up as favourites, where I had frequent opportunities of examining them.[2] Squirrels I have seen of various colours and sizes, which are very sweet to eat. The cat-a-mountain, or wild cat, called by the French *enfant de diable*, is an ugly fierce-looking animal, almost as large as a middling sheep, of a greyish colour and very shaggy.[3]

[1] The distinction drawn between hares and rabbits in Acadia is perfectly correct, and rather surprising in view of the prevalent confusion in the matter. But Knox probably knew them well as a sportsman in both England and Nova Scotia. The so-called "rabbit" of Nova Scotia is zoologically a hare, and known to naturalists as the "varying hare," from its changes of colour with the seasons, correctly described by the author. No rabbit occurs in this part of America.

[2] The author is correct in his remarks on the foxes, which are, even in colour and habits, such as he describes. He would have been astonished to know that the breeding of grey and black foxes for their furs was later to become an extensive and profitable business in Nova Scotia.

[3] This animal is no doubt the true wild cat, a particularly large form of which is known to occur in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland and in the peninsula of Nova Scotia. In some particulars the characterization would equally well apply to the lynx, but this, in modern times at least, is rare or wanting in that part of the province. The author, however, is wrong in applying to either animal the name cat-a-mount, for that is the well-established name of the

1759. May. I have frequently seen that species of quadruped called a racoon *, it is about the size of a well grown house-cat, and of the tyger kind, though its head has some resemblance to that of a fox; their fur is of a sandy colour, intermixed with white or grey hairs; their muzzle and paws are black, and, when tormented, they void their excrements, which are of the colour, size, and smell of musk; and at the same time they make a hideous screaming noise; these animals are generally caught in the hollowed trunk of an old tree, and are so obstinate when taken, that they cannot be prevailed on to eat any thing, but will live an inconceivable time on the juice of their own paws, which they suck like a bear; their fur is fine, and proper for hats, though not of the superfine kind: racoons, I am told, are frequently eaten, and in great estimation, in New-England, roasted, and served up with cranberry or other sweet sauce; but I can in this speak from my own experience, for we had one dressed for our mess, with a rich gravey sauce, instead of the other; the flesh of it was white and tender, not unlike kid meat; but it was strong, and of a disagreeable fishy flavour.[1]

[244] The musk-rat is of a lead colour, and in all other respects not unlike the large Norway rats in England, except its tail, which is partly round, and, at the extremity, like that of a weasel: its fur is short, very fine, and smells as strong as their excrement, which is equal in perfume to the genuine musk;[2] their skins are frequently used (more particularly by

cougar or puma, an animal which did formerly occur sparingly in Nova Scotia, but which was neither shaggy nor greyish in colour.

* Called by the French, *un pichou*. This animal has, I am told, been shewn in England for a jackall.—*Note by author.*

[1] This description of the racoon, still a fairly common inhabitant of the Acadian forests, is excellent in all respects except the bit of popular fiction about the sustenance derived from the paws and the mention of the musk, which seems not to be known to our present-day naturalists. The name as used by the French, *un pichon*, or *pichou*, is a corruption of its Micmac Indian name *Nibachis*, used by Lescarbot for the same animal. (See *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, iii. (1909), ii. 227.)

[2] The account of the musk-rat is also correct except as to the colour, which is rather brownish than lead colour. The musk, of course, comes from special glands, not the alimentary system as our author seems to have thought.

the French, and those who like to imitate them) for linings of waistcoats; but to this practice I object, as they are too strong, overcoming, and consequently unhealthful. These are all the four-legged animals I have had an opportunity of seeing, that deserve notice. 1759. May.

The fowl and birds come next under consideration: the tame poultry bred in this country are much larger than that breed in Great Britain usually are, though their shape, plumage, and flavour are in all respects the same; they have two kinds of partridge in great plenty, distinguished by the spruce, and the birch partridges, from their making the berries and tender tops of those trees their principal diet; the flesh and feathers of the former are dark, or blackish brown; are fine eating, but have a strong, yet agreeable, flavour of the tree on which they feed; the flesh of the other is as white as a chicken, its plumage much the same as in England; both kinds are much larger, and, I think, the birch partridges are preferable to any I ever met with elsewhere: they are very tame, are killed sitting, or running, like a hen, and often perched on the branch of a tree.[1]

Authors and travellers mention various kinds of wild ducks, as peculiar to this country; I have only seen one sort, which do not differ from those in Europe; snipes they have in great abundance, the same as among us; but I never saw or heard of a woodcock in these parts, the winters here being too severe for them.[2]

There are birds in this province not unlike our blackbird, but of a deeper and more shining colour; they come in small flocks of ten or twelve, and perch upon trees; they make a

[1] This description of the spruce and birch partridges is admirable, and accurate in every particular. The author must have known, though he fails to mention it, that they are really grouse, not true partridges.

[2] Various kinds of wild duck do occur in this country, and snipe are abundant. But the author is wrong about the woodcock, for they occur, though not very plentifully, in Nova Scotia, and they avoid the severity of the winters by migrating southward.

1759. May. wild, shrill, chirping [245] noise (not unlike what one hears from a pair of parroquets in a cage); their flesh is so bitter, that they are not to be eaten; I have heard several arguments about them; some called them blackbirds, others stares (or starlings) but they differ from both those species of birds in Europe. The robin redbreast is in all respects the same as in England, saving its size, which is somewhat larger than the thrush; but I do not recollect that I ever saw any of them in the winter season, though I am told they have been caged as favourites, and will thrive and sing very melodiously in a warm room.[1]

The owls of this country are a great curiosity, and make a most venerable appearance; they are of different sizes, and some much darker than others: I saw one that had been slightly winged, and lived several weeks after; he was as large as a turkey-cock, his breast, belly, and neck as white as snow; his head, body, and wings rather greyish, with the finest pair of transparent eyes I ever saw in my life: he seemed to have no dislike to his confinement, feeding heartily upon raw meat.[2] There is a small kind of birds, not larger than larks, and exactly of their colour, that, for some months of the summer season, fly in large flocks; after you have fired at them, such as have escaped rise, hover about, and, by the time your fusil is again charged, they simply give you another chance, by lighting on the ground very near you: towards autumn they disappear, and return again also in flights, when the snow sets in; for we are all agreed in that circumstance of their being the same species; their winter plumage is in general white, interspersed with brown; and they have a streak of that colour from the top of the head along the back down

[1] The identity of these birds is quite obvious. The first is the purple grackle, locally called blackbird, here well described, except that the flocks are nowadays usually much larger. The other is the so-called robin, really a thrush, as the author evidently came near to saying. They migrate southward in winter.

[2] The remarks upon owls are correct. The large one that was seen in captivity was of course the snowy owl, which occurs in Nova Scotia.

to the tail, two feathers of which in the same line are also brown; in one season we call them snow-birds, and, in the other, small-birds, not knowing their proper appellation: they are fat and delicious to eat at all times, and are termed ortolans by the French;[1] but this is a common epithet among them for all the lesser feathered [246] race that are eatable, and whose real names they are unacquainted with.* 1759. May.

The musketa hawk the reader may remember to have seen described under the 31st of May, 1758. I have seen great variety of other two-legged animals in their flight; but, as I had not an opportunity of examining them particularly, I chuse to pass them by in silence.

The last, and least of the feathered race, which remains for me to describe, is the humming-bird; and it may justly be esteemed a miracle of nature, on account of its singular diminutiveness, beauty, and plumage: it is said to be peculiar to America, but I am told they are larger, and have more variety of colours, in the southern parts than here; what becomes of them in the winter we know not, except, according to the commonly received notion, they die or sleep, and revive again in the following year: we used to kill them in the gardens about Midsummer, with the heads of pins, or sand instead of shot; and generally found them among flowers and sweet herbs; they are about half the size of a wren, and made exactly like a snipe, with a long black bill, which is about the length and thickness of a fine stocking-needle: the head and back are of a dark green, the wings yellow, the breast pearl colour, and below that, towards the tail, of the colour of a lemon; the legs and claws, which support a pair of thighs of

[1] The little birds here so appreciatively described are snow-buntings. They are characterized with a clearness permitting no mistake. They are still called ortolans by the French of Acadia.—*Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, vol. iii. (1909), sec. ii. 228.

* These birds are known in the northern parts of Scotland, by the name of *snow-fleets;* they come in flocks in the month of February, and retire in April. —*Note by author.*

1759. May. pale green, are also black and shining like its bill; they fly exceedingly swift, and, by their buzing, or humming noise, are heard before they are seen, from thence called the humming-bird; the males are distinguished from the females by a little tuft of various colours on the top of the head; their eyes I cannot speak of, as all that I have seen were dead; I am told they are remarkable for fine lucid eyes, and, in short, I think, in point of beauty and variety, they may justly be called the goldfinch of America.[1]

[247] The only curious insect I have seen in this country is the fire-fly (as it is called;) it is about the size of a common hive-bee, though of a brighter colour; and has a double set of wings, of a delightful green, spotted with gold; when they rise in the night (at which time they are mostly seen) they dart such a surprising splendor, as to appear, at a distance, like a flash in the pan of a firelock; and this illumination has often been taken for lightning; they are quite inoffensive, having no sting: I have had many of them in my hands, but they never shew to any advantage, except when they rise to fly, or skip in the grass.[2] The grasshoppers are numerous, large, and beautiful, surpassing any I ever saw before. The tormenting musketa, which is not unlike the gnat, or midge, in Europe, though somewhat larger, carries its sting in its head, and not in its tail, as bees, wasps, and some other insects do; they are so inexpressibly teizing, that I have known many people thrown into fevers by their virulence, and a person's head, face, and neck so swelled and inflamed, as not to have a feature distinguishable; for this cause we

[1] This description of the humming-bird—the ruby-throated, the only kind that occurs in Acadia—is certainly accurate as well as expressive, and adds one more to the long list of appreciations which this wonderful little bird has received from early writers. Lescarbot, Denys, Father Le Clercq, Dieréville, and others were charmed by it, all the more, of course, because it is not known in Europe. It migrates to the south in winter.

[2] This insect is still called the firefly in Nova Scotia, and still hovers over the meadows of Acadia at evening. The description is accurate.

always wore long linnen trowsers, with crape or green gauze nets sewed to our hats, which hung down loose before and behind, with a running string at the bottom, to gather it round the neck occasionally. There is a very diminutive kind of black fly, which also stings most intolerably; it is scarce perceptible to the naked eye, and one would think it was a pupil to the musketa, giving as little quarter wherever he comes.[1] 1759. May.

All the rivers, bays, and harbours abound with fish of every genus, exsanguious[2] as well as sanguineous, and in the greatest perfection; the latter, that are in most plenty with us, are bass, from eighteen to twenty-six pounds weight; their flesh is firm and white as snow, and in all respects answers the same purposes of good salmon, in pickling, drying, frying, or boiling. Mackarel as in Europe, and gasperots, which are between the sizes of a mackarel and a herring, are full of scales and bones; but eat, either fresh or salted, broiled, fried, or pickled, as the last-mentioned fish does, [248] and have exactly the same flavour.[3] The finest cod in these seas are taken on the banks and coasts of this country; are even preferable to those of Newfoundland, though not altogether in such great plenty; and ling, also codlings, sardinias, sprats, eels, flukes, small turbots, &c. but these require no description.[4]

[1] The mosquito, very unfavourably known to our author after his months of summer residence near the gulf marshes of Westmorland and Annapolis, is here well described. The diminutive black fly is the "midge" or "sandfly," a veritable pest at times, though by no means as ubiquitous as the mosquito.

[2] "exanguious": see Errata.

[3] These fish are well known in Nova Scotia; and precisely as here described. The gasparot is really a form of herring, and is called sometimes river herring, since it runs into the fresh water, which the true herring does not.

[4] These fish are all readily recognizable. Ling is, of course, the fisherman's name for the hake; codlings are presumably only small cod, but perhaps the author here uses the name for the tomcod or frostfish, very common all about Nova Scotia; neither the sardine (*sardinia*) nor the sprat occurs in these waters, and presumably the author applies these names to young herring, unless indeed their presence in the list is merely suppositional; fluke is the English name for the flounder, the common sandflounder being meant, no doubt, while "small turbots" can only refer to the spotted flounder, since the author speaks of the halibut a few pages later.

1759. May. Oysters we are usually supplied with by the New-England traders, fresh and good; they are neither large nor small; many of their upper as well as under shells (which is very uncommon) are concave, but this is not general; and rough or rocky on the outsides; they are well flavoured, and the central part of the inside of the shells, to which the core or firm part of the fish usually adheres, is as black as the rest is white; towards the heel on the inside of each shell are two little rows like teeth; they are not long, but of a fine red colour like coral. Oysters, no doubt, they have upon this coast (with most other kinds of testaceous fish) but I do not recollect that ever I saw any of them, nor indeed were we in the way of it, during our irksome abode in the province.[1]

I cannot dismiss my remarks on Nova Scotia, without observing, that the fogs, which are almost perpetual here, and farther to the eastward, are certainly to be attributed to the swamps, bogs, lakes, creeks, and innumerable rivers, great and small, that intersect the country every-where; and to which I may add the immense tracts of rude, uncultivated forests. Some people have adopted a different opinion, imputing them rather to the steamy breath of the vast quantities of fish and sea animals wherewith these coasts and waters abound; but, however favourable appearances may be to these last sentiments, on account of the remarkable healthiness of the climate, I must take the liberty to differ from them, because I rather ascribe the great salubrity of the air to the myriads of venomous reptiles and insects that absorb the noxious vapours, and purify those misty exhalations, which might otherwise naturally be supposed to be offensive and unwholesome, when arising from swampy grounds, or stagnated waters, &c. and

[1] Oysters do indeed occur on the Nova Scotian coasts, though only in the Gulf of St. Lawrence waters and the Bras d'Or Lake in Cape Breton, and it is rather surprising that the author had not learned this fact. His description of the New England oysters is good except as to the coral-red teeth near the hinge, as to which he makes some error.

this, if I am [249] not mistaken, is the prevailing opinion in other countries where they are subject to fogs, and the lands are low and fenny.* [1] 1759. May.

The principal fortresses have been already described: the best of them is only calculated against an Indian enemy, and that of Annapolis Royal, I have been lately† assured, lies intirely neglected; so that the works, being constructed of a loose, sandy soil, are consequently mouldering away to ruin. However, I am credibly informed the country, since the peace, has assumed a different aspect; that inhabitants increase, and that there are two houses of refreshment upon the road from fort Edward (thirty-six computed miles from Halifax) to Annapolis, where people may travel with the greatest safety; and the new-comers, who are settled throughout the province, follow their respective occupations, without the smallest apprehensions of molestation or danger. This being the case, if the Government will continue to persevere in a vigorous support of this tender colony, as they have wisely done within these last twenty years, the next generation, or more likely their descendants, may perhaps consider all that has hitherto been said of Acadia in the same light that ignorant people do, at this day, the records of the primitive state of Great Britain, and its then equally barbarous natives, viz. as fabulous,

* The inhabitants of Jersey, in the British channel, impute the healthfulness of their island to the infinite numbers of toads, lizards, and snakes with which that very agreeable miniature dominion abounds: and, in a great measure, to the same causes may doubtless be attributed the possibility of Europeans being able to live in the East and West Indies, coast of Guinea, and other pernicious climates.—*Note by author.*

[1] These remarks upon the fogs partake of the exaggeration already noted in the case of the climate and soil. Nor is the author happy in his explanation of their origin, which is now known to be due to meteorological causes connected with the movements of the south-east winds, laden with moisture from the warm Gulf Stream, passing over the colder waters near the coast. The noxious influence of "vapours" upon the health has long since been relegated to the discarded beliefs of medicine, and with it go the author's explanations.

† By *lately*, is meant in the year 1768.—*Note by author.*

1759. May. and the mere produce of a fruitful invention!—To conclude,—I sincerely wish the views and expectations of the generous mother-country, in their settlement of, and attention to, this (hitherto unpromising) province, may be fully and amply accomplished in every respect, and [250] that the inhabitants may approve themselves, to latest posterity, a loyal, industrious, grateful people: and thus I heartily bid it adieu.

13th. Sailing orders by Mr. Cobb, Commander of his Majesty's province sloop York.

"Signals to be observed.

"For unmooring, I will loose the head of my jib, and fire "one gun.—For weighing, I will loose my main-sail, and fire "two guns.—When the fleet anchor, they are to take a reason- "able distance for their security, as they shall answer the "contrary.—For anchoring in the day, my jack on the ensign's "staff.—For anchoring in the night, two lanterns on my "ensign's staff, and fire one gun.

"No vessel is to go a-head except in bad weather, or to "clear a head of land, shoals or banks. In case of springing "a leak or any other disaster that may disable your ship from "keeping company, you are to fire a gun, or a volley of small "arms, which I shall answer with three guns; if not, the "signal to be repeated until answered. In case of fogs, I will "fire two guns every two hours; for tacking, one gun. Upon "my discovering any danger, I will fire five guns, the whole to "tack. If an enemy, my ensign under my pendant. If I want "to speak with the Master, I will hoist my jack under my "pendant. If any vessel should separate from the fleet, and "join again, when hailed, is to call out *Burton*, and be answered "*James*.—Should any vessel want a Surgeon, they are to hoist "their jack half-mast high. The whole to keep company, if

"possible; but, in case of separation, to make the best of their 1759. May.
"way to Louisbourg.

"Given on board the sloop York, May 13, 1759.

"John Silvester Cobb.

"To Capt. G.[1] of the Success sloop."

[251] Soon after these orders were circulated, the signals were made, and at noon we sailed with a fair wind and moderate weather; we were saluted by the fort with nineteen guns; also by the York sloop and Monckton schooner, who discharged eleven guns each; and, by a private agreement among the soldiers of each ship, they gave three cheers, expressive of their joy at being released from their tedious and slavish exile; thanking God they were at last going to join the army. This was a surprise upon us, for the Officers were not in the secret; and, though it likewise afforded us the highest satisfaction, our pleasure was doubly increased by seeing our poor fellows in such good spirits going on immediate service. Between five and six P.M. came up to, and spoke with, the missing transport, with provincials, bound to fort Cumberland.

An unfavourable wind; we did nothing but tack this 14th. whole day, between the entrance of Annapolis and the north shore: the fleet all in sight; towards evening the wind freshened.

Blew hard at S. W. with a very angry sea, which intirely 15th. separated our fleet; we could not keep our course, bore away for Passmagnadie Head (alias Passamaquoddy) which is about eighteen leagues N. W. of the entrance of Annapolis, and came to an anchor in Havre le Tems[2] bay; were pilotted in

[1] Robert Gibbon, master.

[2] Now called Letang harbour, a very secure land-locked harbour, as the author describes it a little later. See *Report on Nova Scotia by Colonel Robert Morse, R.E.*, 1784, in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1884, pp. xxix., lii. Letang is not a corruption of *Le temps;* the reverse is true. (*Professor Ganong.*)

1759. May. here by our Mate, who, about four years ago, with his ship and crew, were surprised and made prisoners, by twenty-four Indians, in eight birch canoes;[1] this intelligence set us on the watch, and we therefore mounted a guard in the evening upon deck, consisting of a Serjeant, Corporal, and eighteen men. There are many islands, bays, and harbours here, situated on the back of the river St. Croix, upon the western side of the bay of Fundy; this is a very fine harbour and good anchorage; a large fleet might ride here in great safety, the land high all round, and covered with dark, thick woods, mostly spruce and pine: the pilot said, as we had troops on board, and nothing to apprehend, he would bring us to an anchor in the same place, hoping the enemy would come again, that he might be revenged [252] of them; accordingly we anchored off a point of land which runs into the bason, forming a peninsula, at the distance of about eighty yards, and with a view of decoying the Vermin to visit us; we kept our men silent, and none were suffered to be upon deck except the guard, who were obliged to sit down under cover of the ship's waist: the peninsula is covered with pine and under-wood, so dark as to be almost impenetrable; we caught great plenty of fish in this harbour, and we think they are the best we have yet seen in this country.

16th. The Officers sat up last night, to oblige the guard to be alert; and gave orders to keep a good look-out upon the water on every side, and not to fire if they saw any canoe approach, until they should come within eight or ten yards of the sloop, and then to pour in upon them; in the mean time the Corporal was to have apprized us quietly of the first discovery, or noise on the water; the rest of our detachment (being two companies) were in readiness below. We were not a little mortified that the savages did not attempt to surprise

[1] Probably the affair mentioned by Murdoch (*Nova Scotia*, vol. ii. 304). See also Vaudreuil to the Minister of Marine, June 1, 1756 (*Canadian Archives*, F. 101).

us, as we hoped to have struck an unexpected *coup d'eclat* upon our quitting this province. 1759. May.

Fine weather, and warmer than for some days past, wind unfavourable. About two o'clock, P.M. it was a perfect calm; this seamen looked upon as a prelude to a fair wind, which encouraged us to weigh anchor, and work out; for this purpose our boat took us in tow. The entrance to the harbour being narrow (not exceeding sixty or seventy yards) and the channel running close to the peninsula, lest the enemy should give us a fire from the dark cover on that point of land, (a scheme which our mate says they meditated against him and his sloop, the day before they surprised and took him) the men were ordered under hatches, except twenty, who stayed with the Officers upon deck, with their arms presented, in readiness to return the fire instantly;—in this situation we were for near half an hour, and, though nothing extraordinary happened, the precaution was nevertheless necessary.—About four o'clock we [253] cleared the islands, called the Wolves:[1] wind W. S. W. at seven, we had a fine breeze at N. E. doubled the Grand Manaan island, bearing S. W. and by W. of our course; between eight and nine, the wind shifted a-head of us, and then died away.

Wind variable, near to a calm, with hazy weather: what we gain by one tide we almost lose by the next: at noon the S. E. end of Grand Manaan bore N. W. distant four leagues; at two o'clock P.M. got close in with that island, which is covered mostly with pine and under-wood, and is surrounded by many smaller islands: this is the grand rendezvous of the Indians of Nova Scotia, in their hunting and fishing seasons; we were not a musket shot from the shore, which is very bold. At seven this evening heavy squalls, wind variable, but chiefly W. N. W. at ten, a calm with some rain. 17th.

We tossed and rolled most immoderately all last night, being becalmed in a swelling sea; dark weather with some 18th.

[1] A prominent group of islands still so called.

1759. May. rain. At two A.M. made the land to the W. of Little Passage; at four, made Grand Passage, bearing S. S. W. about three leagues; at eight, the S. W. end of Long Island bore N. E. at two leagues distance; at ten A.M. Cape St. Mary, E. N. E. about five leagues; at noon, Long Island, N. E. about six leagues. Weather extremely wet, with a thick fog. Our vessel makes such little way, that we take great plenty of fish: I caught a hallibut to-day; it weighed almost one hundred weight, was fifty-six inches long, by twenty in breadth, at the broadest part, and from fin to fin; I was obliged to have the assistance of two men to pull it up, over our sloop's stern; and, I think, I never saw or eat a better or firmer fish: [This fish is so well known in Europe, that it does not require a particular description here.]

19th. We had calm weather all last night, with showers of rain; lay to this forenoon; foggy, but moderate; from noon until two o'clock, heavy rain with thunder and lightning; Cape Sable bears E. N. E. At two P.M. made sail with a fair wind and fresh; it rained all the [254] remainder of the afternoon, wind S. by W. at eight, saw the Seal Islands, bearing E. S. E. not above a mile's distance: sounded in ten fathom water, the bottom sand and shells. Stood off and on all night, the wind variable, with constant rain and a thick fog.

20th. At six A.M. saw the Seal Islands at three leagues distance, N. E. and by N.—at eight, spoke with a fishing schooner from Newfoundland; were for several hours most disagreeably rolled and tossed in a mountainous swell, called the Racehorse; at ten, Cape Sable, N. N. W. about four leagues; about eleven, the weather cleared up, we had pleasant sun-shine, and got into smoother water: came up with several fishing vessels from Newfoundland; at noon, Cape Negro, N. E. by E. at three leagues, wind south-west; at seven P.M. spoke with the Desire transport of our fleet; she could not give us any account of the rest of our ships.—A vessel in sight, but at a great distance a-stern.

We descried a fleet of twelve sail a-stern of us; they seem to keep our course, and many other ships a-head of us: they appear to be top-sails.—Weather moderate these two days, and pleasant sailing. This evening blows fresh with a tumbling sea; wind very uncertain. 1759. May. 22d.

The fleet we saw yesterday, with many other vessels, are in sight to-day: fine weather, but blows fresh off the land, with a great swelling sea, wind at N. N. W.—Cape Whitehead, a remarkable land, bears N. N. E. distance about three leagues. At three, P.M. made the straits of Canseau; and a prodigious sea runs through here with a surprising velocity. At four came up with part of the New-York fleet, under convoy of the Diana frigate. She gave chace to a snow off the straits. Towards evening the weather more moderate: spoke with another sail of our squadron. 23d.[1]

Came up with several islands and floats of ice, and saw many more to leeward; they resembled low land and ledges covered with snow. At eight, A.M. opened Gabarus Bay; the weather raw and cold; moderate breezes with gloomy air. —At ten o'clock, opened the ruins of [255] the late grand Battery;—sailed in close by the Light-house Point; a bold shore, entrance narrow. Passed-by most of our capital ships, and, about eleven, A.M. came to an anchor under the walls of Louisbourg, where we had the pleasure to find the remainder of the bay of Fundy squadron, except the rangers, who are hourly expected. We see troops here reimbarking, who landed for exercise. In the evening a French * prize was brought in of two hundred and fifty tons burthen: she was taken by Admiral Durel's squadron, who are gone up the river St. Lawrence to intercept succours; was bound to Quebec; had one 24th.

[1] On this day General Wolfe went on board Admiral Durell's ship.

* A prize taken from an enemy is always distinguished by the victor's colours being hoisted on her ensign's staff, and those of the capture under them. This circumstance, though trivial, some of my readers are unacquainted with.—*Note by author.*

1759. May. hundred and twenty soldiers and sailors on board, with a great quantity of ammunition and stores. This prize belonged to a fleet of transports under convoy of four frigates, who sailed together from Brest, and had separated off the land.[1]

The following orders, which were published by their Excellencies Admiral Saunders and Major-General Wolfe, preparatory to the expedition intended against Quebec, I have, upon our arrival here, obtained authentic copies of, and shall insert them under their respective dates.

"Orders by Major General Wolfe, Halifax, May 4, 1759.[2]

"His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the Gene-
"rals and Officers to serve in the army commanded by
"Major-General Wolfe, the Honourable Brigadier-General
"Monckton, the Honourable Brigadier-General Townshend,[3]

[1] "A french Prize brought in, loading with cloathing, ammunition for Quebeck taken by the Alcide between Cape North and Cape Ray."—*Wolfe's Journal*, May 24.

"A prize taken by Capt. Douglass of the Alcide between Cape Ray and I. d'Oiseaux, with a great quantity of cloathes for the different regiments in Canada and some powder."—*Bell's Journal*, same date. In this prize were several excellent charts of the river, which proved of great value to the fleet. Durell tested the charts and found them accurate. See also p. 361 and note.

[2] The General Orders of the campaign were published by the *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, *Historical Documents* (Fourth Series), from a MS. said to have belonged to the Hon. George Allsopp, Secretary to Quartermaster-General Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester). Except for verbal and other minor differences, they agree with the corresponding texts given by the author; but each source contains many entries not to be found in the other. It is probable that the original copies of Wolfe's Orders were in the Townshend manuscript collection at Raynham (*Historical MSS. Commission*, *11th Report*, Appendix IV. p. 322), but, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Townshend, they are now lost (*Life of Marquess Townshend*, p. 159).

[3] George Townshend, eldest son of Charles, third Viscount Townshend, was born on February 28, 1724. He was educated at Cambridge, and began his military career as a volunteer with the army in Germany under Lord Stair in 1742. In 1743 he was appointed A.D.C. to Lord Dunmore. During that year, whilst on leave in Switzerland, he projected a scheme for raising two Irish battalions for the service of the State. On May 24, 1745, he was given a

"the Honourable Brigadier-General Murray;[1] — Colonel 1759. May.

company in the 20th Regiment, and in 1748 he was promoted to be a Captain in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, which gave him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot. He married, in 1751, Lady Charlotte Compton. In 1755 he was named A.D.C. to Lord Ligonier, but the Duke of Cumberland refused to sanction the appointment, and a short time afterwards Townshend was placed under arrest, as he was about to leave town on a hunting expedition, on the ground that he was leaving without permission. He therefore resigned his commission. In 1758 he was restored to his position in the army and given the rank of Colonel of Foot. In December, 1758, he was offered the command of a brigade in the expedition under General Wolfe destined for the St. Lawrence in 1759, which he readily accepted. Throughout the campaign of 1759 he rendered excellent service, and no small share of the credit of taking Quebec is due to him. When Wolfe fell on the morning of September 13, the command devolved upon Townshend. The capitulation was duly signed on September 18 by Townshend and Saunders. In November, Townshend embarked with a number of troops for England. When nearing Plymouth he learned that Admiral Hawke, who had engaged the French fleet, was in need of assistance at Quiberon Bay; he therefore refused to land, and proceeded to the assistance of the Admiral, only returning to England in the month of January, 1760. In October, 1759, he had been appointed Colonel of the 28th Regiment, in the place of Philip Bragg, deceased. Townshend seems to have suffered from the injudicious action of his friends, who made extravagant claims on his behalf, claims which he resented. In 1760 he was made a Privy Councillor, and in 1767 became Viceroy of Ireland. In 1763 he was Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, and did good service in representing to the King the state of the defences in Canada. In 1772 he became Master-General of Ordnance, and it was through his representations that, in 1783, the temporary citadel was constructed beyond the town lines at Quebec. In the year 1787 he was elevated to the rank of a Marquess. He was made a Field-Marshal in 1796. He died in 1807, forty-eight years after the capitulation of Quebec.

[1] James Murray, born, according to the best authorities, in 1719, was fifth son of Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank, and of Elizabeth, daughter of George Stirling, M.P. for Edinburgh. He entered the army, being appointed Second Lieutenant in Wynward's Marines, February 2, 1740. Attached to the 15th Foot, he served with his regiment in the West Indies, participating in the Cartagena expedition (1741). In 1745 he was with the army in Flanders, being present at the defence of Ostend. As Captain of the grenadier company of the 15th he took part in the Brittany expedition, and distinguished himself at L'Orient (1748). He became Major in the 15th in 1749, and a Lieutenant-Colonel, January 5, 1751. He commanded the regiment in the Rochefort expedition of 1757. The same year he took his regiment out to America, and served at the siege of Louisbourg in 1758. One of the three brigadiers at Quebec, under Wolfe, his "old antagonist," who had a high opinion of him, he commanded the left wing of the army at the battle of the Plains, September 13, 1759. Quebec surrendered September 18, 1759, and Murray was left in com-

1759. May. "Carlton,[1] Quarter-Master-General;—Major Barre,[2] Adjutant-General;—Captain Guillem,[3] Captain Spittall,[4] and the

mand. He spent the winter fortifying the place. In the spring Lévis advanced against Quebec, and Murray gave him battle at Ste. Foy, but was defeated by the French superior force. The appearance of an English squadron forced Lévis to raise the siege, and Murray proceeded, with his troops, to Montreal to join the invading army under Amherst, to whom Montreal surrendered with all Canada. On October 27, 1760, Murray was appointed Governor of Quebec, and on November 21, 1763, Governor of Canada. He established civil government in 1764. He returned to England, June 28, 1766, but retained his title till April 12, 1768. Murray, who had been made Colonel-Commandant of a battalion of the 60th, October 18, 1759, was promoted to be Major-General, July 10, 1762, and Lieutenant-General, May 25, 1772. In 1774 he was appointed Governor of Minorca. He was besieged at Fort St. Philip, in 1781, by the Duc de Crillon with a French and Spanish army. Crillon secretly offered a bribe of a million sterling and a French title to surrender the place. Murray spurned the proposal. After a five months' siege, his garrison was reduced by the ravages of scurvy to a few hundred men fit for duty, and he had to surrender, February 5, 1782. On his return to England, Murray was court-martialled, but fully and honourably acquitted. The King expressed his appreciation of Murray's conduct. He was made a full General, February 19, 1783, and became Governor of Hull. He died at his residence, Beaufort Hall, near Battle, Sussex, June 18, 1794.

[1] Guy Carleton was born at Strabane, Tyrone Co., Ireland, September 3, 1724, third son of Christopher Carleton and Catherine Ball. On May 21, 1742, he was appointed an Ensign, and became a Lieutenant on May 1, 1745. Having been made Lieutenant-Colonel in 1757, he took part in 1758 in the siege of Louisbourg under General Amherst. On December 30, 1758, he was appointed Quartermaster-General and Colonel in America. Serving under Wolfe before Quebec, he was wounded at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759, when in command of the Grenadiers. In 1761, acting as Brigadier-General under General Hodgson, he was again wounded at the siege of Belle-Isle. Raised to the rank of Colonel in the army in 1762, he distinguished himself at the siege of Havana, being wounded in a sortie (July 22, 1763). He was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, April 7, 1766, and became the administrator of the colony after Murray's departure in June 1766. He received his commission as Governor of Canada on April 12, 1768. In 1770 he went to England on leave of absence, and was made a Major-General, May 25, 1773. During his stay in England he was largely instrumental in securing the adoption of the Quebec Act of 1774, which represented his views. He returned to Canada the same year, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Canada. Before he could establish the new form of government, the Americans invaded the province in 1775. General Montgomery having captured St. John and entered Montreal, Carleton, who had no army, retired to Quebec. He fortified the town, organized the French and British Militia, defeated Montgomery in his attack on December 31, 1775, and, upon

"Honourable Captain Maitland,[5] Majors of Brigade;— 1759. May.
"Captain Smith,[6] of the 15th regiment, and Captain

the arrival of a British squadron, May, 1776, put to rout the besieging army, and in a few weeks forced the Americans out of Canada. In reward for his saving Quebec and Canada to England, he was nominated a Knight of the Bath, July 6, 1776. The expedition from Canada (1777) against the colonies having been assigned to Burgoyne, Carleton, already dissatisfied with his treatment, demanded his own recall. On August 29, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. In July, 1778, he left Canada. On February 23, 1782, he was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as Commander-in-Chief in America, but as peace was then approaching, all hostilities were stayed. On April 22, 1786, he was again appointed Governor of Quebec, and on August 21 was created Baron Dorchester. In 1791 an Act of Parliament dividing Canada into two provinces—an Act prepared by William Grenville and revised by Dorchester—was passed, and Dorchester again established a new constitution. He took his final departure from Quebec on July 9, 1796. He was raised to the rank of General in the army in 1793. He died suddenly on November 10, 1808.

[2] Isaac Barré, son of a French refugee from Rochelle, was born in Dublin in 1726. He graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and entered the army as an Ensign in 1746. He accompanied the expedition to Louisbourg, and was appointed Major of Brigade on May 12, 1758. He was Deputy Adjutant-General in Wolfe's expedition to Quebec, holding the rank of Major in America. He served under Amherst in 1760. In 1761 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and given command of the 106th Regiment. In 1761 he entered Parliament, and continued to sit till 1790. He played a prominent rôle as an orator and a politician, was a leading opponent of the taxation of the American colonies, and at different periods held Cabinet positions. He died on July 20, 1802.

[3] Thomas Gwillim was Captain in the 7th Foot, which was stationed at Gibraltar. He was appointed Captain, May 2, 1751; Major, May 1, 1759. His family residence was at Old Court, Herefordshire, where the Gwillims had been long prominent among the country gentry. His daughter, Elizabeth Posthuma, married John Graves Simcoe, afterwards first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

[4] John Spittal, appointed Captain of the 47th Regiment, November 24, 1755; Major, March 1, 1760.

[5] The Hon. Richard Maitland, appointed Captain in the 43rd Regiment on September 4, 1754; Lieutenant-Colonel on August 22, 1760.

[6] Hervey Smyth, the son of Sir Robert Smyth, Bart., and Louisa, daughter of John Hervey, Lord Bristol, was born at Ampton on May 30, 1734. He was first cousin to the Hon. William Hervey. (See vol. ii. p. 187, note.) He was a page to George II, and entered the Royal Horse Guards as a Cornet on August 27, 1753. He became Captain of the 15th Foot on November 8, 1756; Captain of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, January 13, 1760; Lieutenant-Colonel Brevet, November 26, 1762; Captain of the 3rd Foot Guards, October 26,

1759. May. "Bell,[1] to be Aids de Camp;—Captain Caldwel[2] and "Captain Leslie[3] to be Assistants to the Quarter- [256] "Master-General; Major M'Kellar, Sub-director and Chief "Engineer, &c. &c. &c.

1763, and retired on May 12, 1769. He served at Louisbourg, and was selected by Wolfe to be his aide-de-camp in the Quebec campaign. Captain Smyth made a series of drawings of Quebec and the St. Lawrence which were published in London in 1761: two of these are reproduced in the present work. He was slightly wounded at the battle of the Plains, and receiving permission to return home on his private affairs, accompanied the remains of Wolfe to England. He succeeded his father as baronet in 1783, and died at his farm at Elmswell, in Suffolk, in 1811.

[1] Thomas Bell was appointed First Lieutenant in the Marines on March 21, 1757. He served at Louisbourg in 1758. Wolfe, writing to his mother on July 27, says: "If you are acquainted with Mrs. Bell, of the Hospital, I beg you will signify to her that her son has been of great use to me during the siege, has carried on business with great spirit and dispatch, and is an excellent officer." (Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 447.) He was remembered in General Wolfe's will, and, with Captain Smyth, accompanied the remains to England, and carried Wolfe's papers to his mother. He attained the rank of Major in 1767, and appears to have retired on half pay. He has left valuable journals of the campaigns of 1758 and 1759.

[2] Henry Caldwell was appointed Lieutenant in the 69th Regiment on October 7, 1757. He was at Louisbourg in 1758, where he attracted the notice of Wolfe, who recommended him to Pitt. (Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 474.) He was given the rank of Captain in the army on December 30, 1758, and selected as Deputy Quartermaster-General for the Quebec expedition. Wolfe remembered him by a legacy in his will. After the war he remained at Quebec. In 1774 he was named agent and lessee for the seigneury of Lauzon and other properties acquired by General Murray in Canada. During the siege of Quebec by Montgomery and Arnold, he commanded the British Militia within the city, and Carleton sent him to England as the bearer of despatches announcing the successful defence. He received a grant of £500 and an appointment as Lieutenant-Colonel on June 10, 1776, and later was made a Legislative Councillor in Quebec. In 1784 he was appointed temporary, and in 1794 permanent, Receiver-General for the province. In 1789 he was elected first President of the first Agricultural Society organized in Canada. In 1801 he purchased the seigneuries of Lauzon, Rivière du Loup, Madawaska, Foucault (on Lake Champlain), the Sans Bruit estate and Belmont Manor near Quebec, the fief of Ste. Foy, and a house in St. John Street, Quebec. At Belmont Manor, one of the historic residences of Quebec, he lived in something like aristocratic splendour. He died there in 1810. His son, afterwards Sir John Caldwell, succeeded him in 1812 as Receiver-General.

[3] Matthew Leslie was appointed Lieutenant in the 48th Regiment on November 4, 1755. He was recommended to Pitt by Wolfe at the same time

" The ten regiments for this service in three Brigades, viz. 1759. May.

FIRST BRIGADE.

" Brigadier-General Monckton.
" Major of Brigade, Spittall.

Amherst's, 15th.
Kennedy's, 43d.
*Anstruther's, 58th.
Fraser's, 78th.

SECOND BRIGADE.

" Brigadier-General Townshend.
" Major of Brigade, Guillem.

Bragg's, 28th.
Lascelle's, 47th.
†Monckton's, 60th.

THIRD BRIGADE.

" Brigadier-General Murray.
" Major of Brigade, Maitland.

Otway's, 35th.
*Webb's, 48th.
†Lawrence's, 60th.

" The three companies of grenadiers taken from the garrison " of Louisbourg, viz. from the 22d, 40th, and 45th, are com- " manded by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray; the three companies " of light infantry, viz. one ‡ from the garrison of Louisbourg, " the two others to be formed from the army, and are to be " commanded by Major Dalling; the six companies of rangers " are to be commanded by Major Scot; these three corps do " not incamp in the [257] line. The two companies of light

as Caldwell, received the rank of Captain on the same day, was likewise appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General, and was similarly remembered in the General's will.

* This disposition afterwards underwent an alteration, the 48th being removed to the first brigade, and the 58th to the third, in their room.—*Note by author.*

† Monckton's the 2d battalion, and Lawrence's the 3d battalion of the 60th or Royal Americans.—*Note by author.*

‡ Governor Whitmore did not think proper to spare that company of light infantry from his garrison.—*Note by author.*

1759. May. "infantry, commanded by Captains Delaune[1] and Cardin, are "to be formed from the light infantry of every regiment and "battalion, by detachments of well-chosen men, in proportion "to the strength of the corps, every regiment furnishing one "Subaltern Officer and one Serjeant.

"Order of incampment of the army in one line:

"28th; 60th; 47th;	58th; 60th; 35th;	43d; 78th; 48th; 15th;
"Second Brigade.	Third Brigade.	First Brigade.
"Bragg's, Lascelles's, Monckton's.	Otway's, Lawrence's, Anstruther's.	Amherst's, Kennedy's, Webb's, Fraser's.

"Br. Gen. Townshend.—Br. Gen. Murray.—Br. Gen. Monckton.

"Order of battle in two lines, six battalions in the first "line, four in the second:

48th; 3d B. 60th; 35th;	43d; 58th; 15th;
Br. Gen. Murray.	Br. Gen. Monckton.

Grenadiers of Louisbourg, under Col. Murray.

Grenadiers of the two lines, under Col. Carlton.

Brigadier-General Townshend.

47th; 2d B. 60th.	78th; 28th.

Major Dalling. — Hon. Col. Howe.

Rangers under Major Scot.

Light Infantry. — Light Infantry.

[1] William De Laune, appointed Captain, 67th Regiment, September 1756. He was evidently esteemed by General Wolfe, as he gave him many important duties. He was a witness to Wolfe's will, and accompanied the remains to England. Captain Bell says: "Captain De Laune came home with me and accompanied our noble master to the grave."—*Bell's Journal*, 1759.

"[258] The detachments of the army will be generally 1759. May.
"made by battalions,—companies of grenadiers,—picquets, or
"companies of light infantry. The picquets of the regiments
"shall be in proportion to the strength of the corps, but always
"to be commanded by a Captain. If the General thinks proper
"to order intrenchments to be thrown up in the front or rear
"of the army, the corps are to fortify their own posts.

"As the fleet sails from Louisbourg in three divisions,

"The first brigade is the White division;

"The second brigade is the Red division;

"The third brigade is the Blue division.

"The grenadiers of Louisbourg and the rangers will be ap-
"pointed to one or either of those divisions.—If the regiments
"here have time to put a quantity of spruce beer into their
"transports, it would be of great use to the men. Weak and
"sickly people are not to embark with their regiments;
"measures will be taken to bring those men to the army, as
"soon as they are properly recovered."

"Halifax, May 7, 1759.

"Major General Wolfe will fill up all the vacancies in the
"army, as soon as he receives General Amherst's Orders. A
"proportion of tools will be delivered out to every regiment:
"the corps are to receive thirty-six rounds of ammunition, some
"loose ball, and three flints, per man. Casks of ammunition
"will be put on board small vessels, ready to be distributed, if
"wanted. As the navigation of the river St. Lawrence may in
"some places be difficult, the troops are to be as careful as
"possible in working their ships, obedient to the Admiral's
"commands, and attentive to all his signals: no boats are to be
"hoisted out at sea, but on the most urgent occasions."

"Halifax, May 9, 1759.

"After the troops are embarked, the Commanding Officers
"will give all necessary directions for the preservation of the

1759. May. "health of their men: guards must mount in every ship to "keep strict order, [259] and prevent fire. When the weather "permits, the men are to be as much in the open air as possible, "and to eat upon deck. Cleanliness in the births and bedding, "and as much exercise as the situation permits, are the best "preservatives of health.—When the troops assemble at Louis-"bourg, or in the bay of Gaspée, the Commanders of regi-"ments are to make reports to their respective Brigadiers of the "strength and condition of their corps; and, if any arms, "ammunition, tools, or camp equipage, are wanted, it is like-"wise to be reported, that orders may be given for a proper "supply: a report to be made at the same time, by every "regiment and corps in the army, of the number of men their "boats will conveniently hold. Goreham's and Danks's "rangers will be sent to join Admiral Durell, as soon as any "ship of war sails for the river: these two companies are to be "embarked in schooners or sloops, of the first that arrive, re-"moving the soldiers into large transports.—If any ship by "accident should run on shore in the river, small vessels and "boats will be sent to their assistance: they have nothing to "apprehend from the inhabitants of the north side, and as "little from the Canadians on the south: fifty men with arms "may easily defend themselves until succours arrive. If a ship "should happen to be lost, the men on shore are to make "three distinct fires by night, and three distinct smokes by "day, to mark their situation."

"Halifax, May 10, 1759.

"The troops are to embark as soon after the arrival of "the transports as they conveniently can; and, as there are "many more ships than will be wanted, if they all arrive, they "are to have a good allowance of tonnage. When the regi-"ments arrive at Louisbourg, they are to give a return to the "Adjutant-General of the number of men they have lost, since "the reduction of Louisbourg, and the number of men re-

"cruited since that time. The six companies of rangers are 1759. May.
"to give in the like return: Captain Goreham's company to
"hold themselves in readiness to embark to-morrow morning.

[260] Sailing ORDERS and INSTRUCTIONS, by his Excellency Admiral Saunders.[1]

"Additional Instructions and Signals.

"From Louisbourg the fleet is to sail in three divisions,
"(in such order as I shall direct by the signals hereafter men-
"tioned;) each division to have a Commanding Officer, and to
"be distinguished by different colours, as follows:

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[1] Charles Saunders was born in Scotland in 1713. He began service in the navy on board the *Sea-Horse* in 1727. In 1737 he was appointed Lieutenant on the *Exeter*. During 1738 and 1739 he saw service on board the *Norfolk*, the *Oxford*, the *Sunderland*, and the *Centurion*. On this last vessel he sailed with Anson on his famous voyage to the Pacific, and was promoted to the positions of Commander and Captain during the cruise, promotions which were confirmed when Saunders, sent home from China with despatches, reached England in the spring of 1743. In 1747, commanding the *Yarmouth*, he greatly distinguished himself in Admiral Hawke's victory over the French off Cape Finisterre. In 1750 he entered Parliament as Member for Plymouth. Two years later the Newfoundland station, with the duty of protecting the fisheries, was assigned to him. Returning to England, he was appointed, in 1754, Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. By the influence of his patron, Lord Anson, he was returned Member of Parliament for Hendon, in Yorkshire, which he continued to represent till his death. In 1755 he was made Comptroller of the Navy and an Elder Brother of Trinity House. In June, 1756, he was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and went out to the Mediterranean as second in command under Sir Edward Hawke. The rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue was given him in 1759, when he was selected for the command of the expedition to the St. Lawrence. On his return after the capture of Quebec he was appointed Lieutenant-General of Marines, and, when he took his seat in the House of Commons, January 28, 1760, was given through the Speaker the thanks of the House for his services. In April, 1760, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean; in May, 1761, made a Knight of the Bath; and in October, 1762, promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the White. He was made one of the Lords of the Admiralty in August, 1765, and in September, 1766, was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council, and became First Lord of the Admiralty. This position he retained only three months. On October 18, 1770, he received the rank of Admiral of the Blue. He died on December 7, 1775, at his house in Spring Gardens, and his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey.

1759. May.

The White division.

"The Commanding Officer to wear a White broad pendant, "and all the transports in his division to wear White vanes.

The Red division.

"Myself in the Neptune; all the transports of that divi- "sion to wear Red vanes: but, whenever I think proper to "leave that division, some of his Majesty's ships will hoist a "Red broad pendant, and then all the transports of the Red "division are to follow him, and obey his signals.

The Blue division.

"The Commanding Officer to wear a Blue broad pendant, "and all the transports in his division to wear Blue vanes.

"When the signal is made for the headmost and weather- "most ships to tack first, the division, that is a-head when the "signal is made, is to put about and continue to lead on the "other tack: but, when I make the signal for the sternmost "and leewardmost to tack first, or for the whole fleet to tack "together, the division, that was sternmost before the signal was "made, is to keep a-head upon the other tack, and that which "was the headmost is to keep a-stern.

"Note,——When I am in the river sailing among banks "and sands, I shall find it necessary to place small vessels at "an anchor in shoal water, to point out the channel; you are "therefore in going up the river, to keep all such vessels as "wear Red flags upon your starboard bow; and all such as "wear White ones on your larboard bow.

[261] "Additional Signals in a fog.

I.

"When sailing large or before the wind, if I would alter "the course to Starboard, I will fire seven guns; and, if to "Port, nine guns, and, four minutes afterwards, a gun each half

" minute, for as many points as I would have the course altered ; 1759. May.
" so that, if only one gun is fired, one point only is altered to
" Starboard, or Port.

II.

" When sailing upon a wind, if I think proper to pay away
" large, I will fire ten guns, and four minutes after a gun each
" half minute, for as many points of the compass as I shall go
" from the wind.

" Note,——In the night the Commanding Officer of each
" division is to carry a light on his poop, and another in his
" main top.

" Before I make the signal for the fleet to anchor, I shall
" send some small vessels a-head, who are to anchor first in
" three different stations, wherein it may be most convenient for
" the three divisions to anchor ;—which vessels shall, when at
" anchor, wear the following jacks at their mast-heads, viz.

" The headmost or innermost, an English jack.

" The middlemost, a French jack.

" The sternmost or outermost, a Dutch jack.

" The division, that is headmost when I make the signal
" to anchor, shall sail up to the headmost or innermost of the
" said vessels, and the Commander of that division shall anchor
" as close to the said vessel as may be : and all the ships of
" his division are to anchor as nearly about him as they con-
" veniently can.

" The center division is to anchor in like manner, where
" the middlemost of the said three vessels is at an anchor : And

——" The sternmost division in like manner, where the
" sternmost or outermost of the said three vessels is at an anchor.

" As the regular and orderly sailing of the fleet, particularly
" in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, is of the utmost con-
" sequence to his [262] Majesty's service, the Master of every
" transport is hereby strictly injoined look out for, and punctu-
" ally to obey, all such signals as shall be made by the Com-

1759. May. "manding Officer of the division he belongs to: and, in case "of neglect in any one, the Captains of his Majesty's ships "are directed to compel them to a stricter observance of their "duty by firing shot at them, and to give me an account "thereof, which I shall transmit to the Navy board, in order "to their charging the same against the hire of those vessels, "for whose neglect his Majesty's stores are so unnecessarily "expended.

"You are not to hoist out a boat at sea, unless to speak "with me, or the Commanding Officer of your division, or upon "some most necessary service: and you are hereby strictly "forbid to let your boat go on board any other ship at sea, "either upon your own or any other person's private occasions.

——"Whenever you would speak with the Commanding "Officer of your division, you are to hoist a jack at your fore-"top-mast shrouds.

——"If by accident any transport should run ashore in "the night-time, or in a fog, and remain there unobserved by "the fleet, the people are to make three distinct fires in the "night, and three distinct smokes in the day; by which they "will be discovered by such ships or vessels as will be sent to "look after them.

——"And, if you should at any time discover that any "ship or transport is missing from the division you belong to, "you are immediately to acquaint the Commanding Officer "therewith.

"Given under my hand on board
"his Majesty's ship Neptune in
"Louisbourg harbour this 15th
"of May, 1759.
"CHARLES SAUNDERS.

"*To Mr. Thomas K—k,*[1]
"*Master of the trans-*
"*port Good-will.*

"By command of his Excellency the Admiral,
"*Samuel More.*"

[1] Thomas Killick.

Signals.	At what places.	Guns.	Their significations.
"A Dutch jack with a White pendant under it	Main top-gallant-mast-head	1	The White division to sail in the center.
	Fore top-gallant-mast-head	1	The White division to sail a-breast of the Admiral on his starboard beam.
"A Dutch jack with a Blue pendant under it	Main top-gallant-mast-head	1	The Blue division to sail in the center.
	Fore top-gallant-mast-head	1	The Blue division to sail a-breast of the Admiral on his larboard beam.
"A Yellow flag with a Blue cross	Main top-gallant-mast-head		The Leading division to steer more to Port, and 1 gun for each point to be altered.
	Fore top-gallant-mast-head	1	The Leading division only to come to an anchor.
"A French jack	Main top-gallant-mast-head		The Leading division to steer more to starboard, and 1 gun for each point to be altered.
"A White pendant	Fore top-gallant-mast-head	1	The White division to sail a-head.
	Mizen top-gallant-mast-head	1	The White division to sail a-stern.
"A Red pendant	Fore top-gallant-mast-head	1	The White division to make more sail.
	Mizen top-mast-head	1	The Blue division to make more sail.
"A Blue pendant	Fore top-gallant-mast-head	1	The Ditto to sail a-head.
	Mizen top-mast-head	1	The Ditto to sail a-stern.
"A Yellow pendant.	Fore top-gallant-mast-head	1	The White division to make less sail.
	Mizen top-mast-head	1	The Blue division to ditto.
"A Red flag with a White cross	Mizen top-mast-head	1	All the transports to keep to windward.
"A flag half Blue, half White.	Ditto	1	All the transports to keep to leeward.
"An English Ensign	Main top-gallant-mast-head	1	All the transports to make the best of their way to Louisbourg.
"A Red and White striped flag	Mizen shrowds	1	The Men of War in the Red division only to weigh.
	Mizen top-mast-head	1	Ships of the line only, in the White and Blue divisions, to weigh.

Note.—All the Signals made at any Mast-head will be hoisted on the Flag-staff.

[264] "SOUNDING SIGNALS.

1759. May. "Whereas some vessels will be appointed to attend on each "division in order to sound, the said vessels will make known "the several depths of water they may happen to meet with, "by hoisting the signals undermentioned at their Main top-"mast-head, viz.

Signals.	No. of times to be hoisted.	No. of fathoms.	Signals.	No. of times to be hoisted.	No. of fathoms.
A Yellow pendant	1	5	A Common pendant	1	25
	2	6		2	26
	3	7		3	27
	4	8		4	28
	5	9		5	29
A Blue pendant	1	10	An English jack	1	30
	2	11		2	31
	3	12		3	32
	4	13		4	33
	5	14		5	34
A White pendant	1	15		6	35
	2	16		7	36
	3	17		8	37
	4	18		9	38
	5	19		10	39
A Red pendant	1	20	An Ensign	1	40, or upwards.
	2	21			
	3	22			
	4	23			
	5	24			

"Note,——If the vessel that sounds, when she hoists the "Yellow pendant, keeps it flying, and fires guns, finds "less than five fathoms, the sounding vessels will wear a "Vane chequered Red and White.

"Given under my hand on board his Majesty's Ship "Neptune in Louisbourg harbour this 15th of "May, 1759.

"CHARLES SAUNDERS.

"By Command of the Admiral,

"*Samuel More.*"

[265] RENDEZVOUS.

"In case of separation, by bad weather, or any other un- 1759. May.
"avoidable accident, before we are entered into the river St.
"Lawrence, the place of rendezvous is Gaspée Bay, at the
"upper end of the gulph of St. Lawrence, almost at the
"entrance of the river on the larboard side going in;

"And, in case of losing company after we are entered into
"the river, the place of rendezvous is the island of Bic,[1] which
"lies about eighty leagues up the river, on the south shore:
"and is about four leagues above the island of Barnaby,
"(another island) lying also on the south shore;

"But, if by any unforeseen accident, or by hard gales of
"wind, westerly, you should, soon after entering the river, be
"obliged to bear away, you are to repair to Gaspée Bay above-
"mentioned, from whence you are to proceed again to the
"island of Bic, with the very first opportunity that offers.

(*N.B.* Here the Masters of Transports are referred to a chart or plan, shewing the route which his Excellency intends to make from Louisbourg harbour to the island of Bic.)

"Given under my hand, &c.
"Neptune, Louisbourg harbour,
"This 15th of May, 1759,
"CHARLES SAUNDERS."

By Command, &c.
S. M.[2]

[1] Bic, an island on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, opposite the village of Sainte Cécile-de-Bic, is about 181 miles below Quebec. It appears to have been named Ilot Saint Jean, by Jacques Cartier.

[2] Samuel More.

[266] "SIGNALS for the LAND FORCES.

1759. May. "When I would speak with any of the Officers under-
"mentioned belonging to the troops, I will make the follow-
"ing signals, viz.

"For all land General Officers, Majors of Brigade, All Adjutants, All Quarter-Masters, A red flag at the Main Top-gallant-mast head. Fore Top-gallant-mast head. Main Top-mast head. Fore Top-mast head.

"And for the Commanding Officers of the several regi-
"ments, &c. as follows:

Regiments.	Pendant to be hoisted.	Place where.	
Amherst's 15th, Bragg's 28th, Otway's 35th,	Red and white chequered	Main Fore Mizen	TOP-MAST HEAD.
Kennedy's 43d, Lascelles's 47th, Webb's 48th,	Blue and white chequered	Main Fore Mizen	
Anstruther's 58th, Monckton's 60th, Lawrence's 60th,	Red with a white cross	Main Fore Mizen	
Fraser's 78th, Grenadiers of Louisbourg Rangers	Blue with a red cross	Main Fore Mizen	
Royal Artillery Chief Engineers Commissary of stores	White with a red cross	Main Fore Mizen	

"Commissary of Provisions, *white* with a *red* cross at the
"MIZEN PEEK.

"Dated on board his Majesty's ship
"Neptune, May 15th, Louisbourg harbour,
"CHARLES SAUNDERS."

By Command of the Admiral,
S. M.

[267] "SIGNALS for LANDING.

1759. May.

Flags to be hoisted.	Places where.	Guns.	Significations.
Blue and yellow chequered	Main top-mast head	1	For the troops to prepare to land.
Red and white chequered	Main top-mast head	1	For the troops, &c. to land.
	Mizen shrouds	1	For the Masters of all the transports in the fleet, that have troops on board, to go on board the Admiral.
Red and white striped	Mizen shrouds	1	For the Masters of all the transports in the red division, &c. to go on board the Admiral.
A Dutch flag	Mizen shrouds	1	For the Masters of all the transports in the white division, that have troops on board, to go on board the Admiral.
Yellow & White striped	Mizen shrouds	1	For the Masters, &c. of the blue division, &c. &c. to go on board the Admiral.

"ORDERS to the Masters of Transports at Louisbourg.

"You are hereby required and directed strictly to observe "the following orders, viz.

"You are to furnish the Officers of the troops with a boat "and boat's crew, when wanted; but the Officers are not to "keep the boat waiting.

"You are not to permit any of your boats to be on shore "after sun-set, or to loiter on shore in the day-time, when they "have no business there; which gives frequent opportunity for "desertion; and, if any belonging to your transport should "desert, you are immediately to acquaint me therewith.

[268] "You are strictly injoined not to suttle, or permit "any other person on board to do so, on any pretence "whatsoever.

1759. May. "You are, on no account whatsoever, to send your boat on "shore, after I have made the signal *to prepare for sailing.*

"Given on board his Majesty's ship Neptune, in
"Louisbourg harbour, May 15, 1759,
"CHARLES SAUNDERS."

"To Mr. Thomas K—ll—k,
"Master of the transport Good-will."

By command of the Admiral,
S. M.

Major-General WOLFE'S ORDERS.

"Louisbourg, May 17.

"The regiments are to give in a list of their volunteers, "according to their seniority and service. Captain Cramake,[1] "of General Amherst's regiment, is appointed to act as Deputy "Judge-Advocate to the expedition; and Lieutenant Dobson, "of the 47th regiment, is appointed, by General Amherst, a "Major of brigade in the army."

"Louisbourg, May 18.

"As the regiments arrive, they are to have fresh beef "delivered to them; and, in general, while the troops remain in "this harbour, they are to be furnished with as much fresh "provisions as can be procured. If there are any lines and

[1] Hector Theophilus Cramahé, a Swiss by birth; appointed Captain of the 15th Regiment, March, 1754; served with the army in Louisbourg; appointed Deputy Judge-Advocate, 1759. After the capitulation of Quebec, September 18, 1759, he acted as Secretary to General Murray at Quebec; became Member of the Council in Quebec; and was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, June 6, 1771, and continued in office till 1782. In 1775 he refused to surrender Quebec to Arnold. He was an able administrator, and active in placing the city in a proper state of defence. He was named Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent at Detroit in October, 1785, and appears to have died about 1789.

The Judge-Advocate was the officer who conducted the prosecution before a court-martial.

" hooks to be had from the stores, Captain Leslie will distribute 1759.
" them to the troops. The 28th regiment, with the grenadiers May.
" and rangers, are to be in readiness to embark at a day's
" notice. Besides the thirty-six rounds of ammunition, with
" which every soldier is to be provided, a quantity of cartridges
" in casks shall be put on board each transport."

" May 23.

" If the Captains of Major Dalling's corps of light in-
" fantry object to any of the men, as unfit for that particular
" kind of ser- [269] vice, the regiments are to change them, and
" send unexceptionable men in their room. The regiments
" will be particularly careful to try their ammunition which is
" delivered to them, that they may be sure it fits their arms.
" Captain Fraser's company of light infantry of the Highland
" regiment is to compose a part of Major Dalling's corps, and
" to receive their orders from that Officer; the 47th regiment
" furnishes twenty-four men for Capt. Adams's company."

" May 24.

" The Masters of transports are not to be permitted to use
" the flat-bottomed boats, or cutters, for watering their ships, or
" other purposes, they being solely intended for the use of the
" troops. The tools that are to be delivered, for the use of
" the army, out of the arsenal of Louisbourg, are to be dis-
" tributed to the troops, immediately after the arrival of the
" last regiment. Every regiment and corps of light infantry
" are to give in a return, to the Adjutant-General, of the
" ammunition wanting to complete them to thirty-six rounds,
" and three flints, per man."

[Having given the reader all the material orders, introductory to the expedition, which preceded this day of our junction in Louisbourg harbour: I propose to insert every

1759. May. succeeding order, regularly as they are published, under their respective dates; and shall mark them with inverted comma's, the more readily to distinguish them from the daily occurrences, &c. &c.]

"ORDERS.

25th. "The Commanding Officers of regiments to make a report "to-morrow morning to the Admiral of the condition of their "transports: if any are judged unfit to proceed, or if the men "are too much crouded; and proper directions will be given "thereupon. It is particularly necessary for the service of this "campaign, that the regiments be provided with a very large "stock of shoes [270] before they sail, as any supply hereafter "will be very uncertain. The 43d regiment to get their "muster-rolls ready; that regiment is to furnish twenty light "infantry, to complete Captain de Laune's company."

Weather dark and foggy, with raw, cold air; it was tolerably pleasant in the morning, when I went on shore to visit this famous Dunkirk of those parts: and observed, that, in walking on the parade, it turned gloomy all on a sudden, and, in the short space of two or three minutes, there came on so heavy a fog, that a person could not know his most intimate acquaintance at the distance of a very few yards; this exceeded any thing of the kind I ever saw to the westward in Nova Scotia. I flattered myself I should have seen the grenadier companies of this garrison reviewed by General Wolfe, but it was over before I could get there; I was told they went through all their manœuvres and evolutions with great exactness and spirit, according to a new system of discipline;[1]

[1] General Amherst had introduced a new exercise which appears to have been sent to the regiments early in 1759. See R. Townshend to Colonel Bouquet, January 26, 1759 (Bouquet Papers, *Canadian Archives*, A. 14-1). Some details of the fire-drill are given in Amherst's letter to Colonel Haldimand, August 3, 1760 (Haldimand Papers, *Canadian Archives*, B. 1, p. 93).

and his Excellency was highly pleased with their performance. 1759. May.
Some Commanding Officers of corps, who expected to be also reviewed in their turn, told the General, by way of apology, that, by their regiments having been long cantoned, they had it not in their power to learn or practise this new exercise: to which he answered,—'Poh! poh!—new exercise—new fiddle-'stick; if they are otherwise well disciplined and will fight, 'that's all I shall require of them.'

"ORDERS.

"The regiments are to give in, as soon as possible, monthly 26th.
"returns to the 24th of May. As the Adjutants are employed
"every morning at exercise with their regiments, the orderly
"hour, for the future, is to be at one o'clock."

Every person seems chearfully busy here in preparing for the expedition. Dark weather with a fog; at the middle of the day fell [271] some rain; continued wet and very cold for the remainder. The small vessels being wanted for the rangers and other light troops, such regiments as arrived here in sloops and schooners are put on board of large English transports; the vessel in which I took my passage fell down to the north-east harbour, and our detachment, with their baggage, were removed on board the Good-will transport, being a cat of three hundred and forty tons: this was a most agreeable exchange, being in all respects better accommodated, than we could possibly be in the small craft of New-England; our poor soldiers have also benefitted, as all the articles of provisions in their new quarters are much better than those they have been lately used to, and they are now supplied with excellent ship-beer, to which they have been for a long time strangers.

"ORDERS.

1759. May. 27th. "The three Louisbourg companies of grenadiers, and the "grenadier companies of the regiments arrived, with the light "infantry of the whole, are to parade, to-morrow morning at "nine o'clock, on the Hill behind the Grand Battery."

Foggy weather to-day, with a great quantity of ice in the harbour; the Island Battery fires a fog-gun every quarter of an hour, for the guidance of shipping in the bay. Colonel James having represented to the General, that the Officers of the 43d regiment were not all supplied with light arms; and that hitherto they had been necessitated to carry common firelocks, when detached upon duty, which were heavy and inconvenient: his Excellency was pleased to order, that the regiment should be immediately provided with French fusils, and other light arms from the magazines.[1]

[1] The arms of the regiments of the line throughout the eighteenth century were the musket and the bayonet. Sergeants still carried the pike, but for the rank and file this had been abandoned at the end of the seventeenth century. The musket, familiarly known in the British army as "Brown Bess," was a flint-lock, provided with a pan into which powder had to be sprinkled before each firing. A severe rainstorm, as in the attack at Montmorency, rendered the muskets useless. A musket weighed eleven pounds, and fired a round ball of about an ounce weight. Each charge of ball and powder was made up in a paper cartridge. The effective range was only about three hundred yards, and accurate individual shooting was impossible even at one hundred yards. Shorter and lighter guns were supplied to the light infantry. The fusil, a name originally applied to the flint-lock when the regular musket was a match-lock, was at this time simply a lighter type of musket. The good use of the rifle made by American skirmishers led to the arming of some of the light troops with that arm, but before the invention of modern breech-mechanism its loading was too slow to permit its general adoption. The military science of the Seven Years' War in general sought to win its victories by fire superiority rather than by shock tactics. Accordingly, hostile armies met in line formation, three or more deep. Amherst and Wolfe anticipated the two-deep formation finally established by Wellington (Amherst to Haldimand, August 3, 1760: Haldimand Papers, *Canadian Archives*, B. 1, p. 93. See p. 487; vol. ii. p. 99). The machine-like precision of the Prussian drill which Frederick the Great perfected and made the model for all the armies of Europe was designed

"ORDERS.

"When the troops are fixed in transports for the voyage, 1759. May. 29th.
"every regiment and corps must give in a return of their flat-
"bottomed [272] boats, whale-boats, and cutters, all which are
"provided by the Government, independent of the transport
"boats; the regiments and corps may be provided with fish
"lines and hooks, by applying to Captain Leslie, Assistant
"Deputy Quarter-Master-General, to-morrow morning."

The fog is so inconceivably thick, and the harbour at the same time so choked up with ice, that it is with the greatest difficulty a boat can put a-shore, or pass from one ship to another; provisions are immoderately dear in this place; beef and mutton from twelve to fifteen pence per pound. The fleet from Halifax, with the remainder of the troops and rangers from Nova Scotia, are all arrived: they have been off the land for some days past, and could not get in sooner, being obstructed by wind, weather, and a surprising quantity of ice in the bay.

Some French and Indians were heard to-day in the woods 30th.
by some carpenters who were sent out to fell trees; a detachment of light troops was instantly sent in pursuit of them: two prizes were lately taken by Admiral Durell's squadron in the river St. Lawrence; they had eighteen hundred barrels of powder, and other warlike stores on board, bound to Quebec.

"ORDERS.

"A detachment of Artillery, equal to that which went from 31st.
"Halifax with Admiral Durell's squadron, is to be left here

especially to give rapidity of fire. By a system of firing by companies (see p. 422) he combined this rapidity with an unbroken forward movement of the troops. British fire efficiency was, however, always high, and owed little to Prussian teaching. It was at its best at the battle of the Plains.

1759. May. "out of the three companies intended for the expedition, to be "sent by the first convenient opportunity for Halifax. A Sub-"altern Officer and a Serjeant shall be left with the sick, which "are to be taken out of the hospital ship, and brought to town; "the 15th regiment for this duty.—To prevent the spreading "of distempers in the transports, the hospital ship shall receive "any men that may fall sick on the voyage. When the troops "receive fresh provisions, they are not at the same time to "demand any salt.—— [273] As the cutters and whale-boats "are meant for the service of the army, they are not to be "given to any of the men of war, without an order in writing "from the Admiral; complaints having been made that the "transports' boats are often detained by the Officers who "come a-shore, so that the Masters cannot get their ships "properly watered, the General insists upon the Officers paying "the strictest obedience to the orders of the Admiral on that "head. The regiments are to send in returns of all their "spare camp-equipage to the Brigade-Major of the day "to-morrow, at orderly time. The following order for the "dress of the light infantry, as approved of by his Excellency "General Amherst: Major-General Wolfe desires the same "may be exactly conformed to by the light troops under his "command: the sleeves of the coat are put on the waistcoat, "and, instead of coat-sleeves, he has two wings like the "grenadiers, but fuller; and a round slope reaching about "half-way down his arm; which makes his coat of no incum-"brance to him, but can be slipt off with pleasure; he has no "lace, but the lapels remain: besides the usual pockets, he has "two, not quite so high as his breast, made of leather, for ball "and flints; and a flap of red cloth on the inside, which secures "the ball from rolling out, if he should fall. His knapsack is "carried very high between his shoulders, and is fastened with "a strap of web over his shoulder, as the Indians carry their "pack. His cartouch-box hangs under his arm on the left "side, slung with a leathern strap; and his horn under the other

"arm on the right, hanging by a narrower web than that used 1759. May.
"for his knapsack; his canteen down his back, under his knap-
"sack, and covered with cloth; he has a rough case for his
"tomahock, with a button; and it hangs in a leathern sling
"down his side, like a hanger, between his coat and waistcoat.
"No bayonet*; his leggins have leathern straps under his
"shoes, like spatterdashes; his hat is made into a cap, with
"a flap and a button, and with as much black cloth [274]
"added as will come under his chin, and keep him warm,
"when he lies down; it hooks in the front, and is made like
"the old velvet caps in England."

The first brigade of the army, with the Louisbourg grenadiers, landed to-day for exercise; they performed several manœuvres in presence of the General Officers, such as charging in line of battle, forming the line into columns, and reducing them; dispersing, rallying, and again forming in columns, and in line of battle alternately, with several other evolutions; which were all so well executed, as to afford the highest satisfaction to the Generals. The weather, though cold, favoured our performance; but the ground was swampy and uncomfortable.—The troops have been daily engaged in these exercises, whenever the weather permitted.

"ORDERS.

"The troops to land no more for exercise: the flat- June. 1st.
"bottomed boats to be hoisted up, that the ships may be ready
"to sail on the first signal. When three guns are fired from
"the Saluting battery, all Officers are to repair to their ships;
"the regiments and corps are to send, to-morrow morning at
"eight o'clock, to the artillery-store, for tools, in the follow-
"ing proportions, and receipts to be given for them.

* General Wolfe ordered the light infantry to wear their bayonets.—*Note by author.*

1759. June.

"Regiments.	Pickaxes.	Spades.	Shovels.	Billhooks.
"Amherst's	50	20	10	10
"Bragg's	60	30	10	10
"Kennedy's	80	30	10	10
"Lascelles's	70	30	10	10
"Webb's	80	20	10	10
"Anstruther's	80	30	10	10
"Monckton's	50	20	10	10
"Lawrence's	50	20	10	10
"Fraser's	100	40	30	20
"Grenadiers of Louisbourg	50	20	10	10
In all	670	260	120	110

[275] "The Nightingale[1] man of war will be ordered to "carry invalids to England; the regiments to send returns of "their numbers, that the proportions may be regulated. All "the regiments to be immediately completed to thirty-six "rounds ready for service; and as much spare cask ball will "be given hereafter. The regiments camp-necessaries will be "furnished by the corps that have it to spare. The under-"mentioned regiments are to furnish a detachment to the "Bedford and Prince Frederic ships of war, viz.

"Otway's, 1 Sub. 1 Serjeant, 24 rank and file,
"Webb's, 1 Sub. 1 Serjeant, 26 rank and file, } Bedford.
"Kennedy's, 1 Sub. 1 Serjeant, 24 rank and file,
"Fraser's, 1 Sub. 1 Serjeant, 26 rank and file, } Pr. Frederic.

"They are to embark to-morrow morning.

"The regiments are to clear their sea-pay arrears, as far as "they have money."

The troops were a-shore again this day for exercise, being the last time, while we are to continue here. The rangers scoured the woods to-day, met with some of the enemy, gave them a fire, and drove them to some of their inaccessible

[1] Captain Campbell.

fastnesses. The harbour is full of ice, insomuch that some foolhardy seamen, who were on shore, went to their ships on the floats, stepping from one to another, with boat-hooks, or setting-poles, in their hands; I own I was in some pain while I saw them, for, had their feet slipped from under them, they must have perished. Bragg's regiment, and the three companies of grenadiers, (from the three battalions of regulars, which are to remain in garrison here) embarked this day. 1759. June.

"ORDERS.

"The Admiral proposes sailing with the first fair wind; 2d. "the Commanding Officers of transports are to oblige the "Masters, as far as they are able, to keep in their respective "divisions, and carry sail when the men of war do, that no "time may be lost by negligence or delays. They are also to "report to the Admiral all deficiencies [276] in the ship, lest "the Master should neglect doing it; and direct, that the "flat-bottomed boats be washed every day, to prevent their "leaking.—An orderly Serjeant is to attend Major M'Kellar. "The Admiral will order the Nightingale man of war into "Louisbourg to receive sixty invalids; these men are to be "landed; their subsistence and clearances to be paid to the "Town-Adjutant for them: the Nightingale will likewise take "the two Officers of artillery. The regiments are to receive "provisions for no more than three women per company of "seventy men, and four women per company of one hundred "men each; Monckton's, Bragg's, Otway's, Webb's, Kennedy's, "and Lascelles's, to give a bat-man[1] each to the Engineers. "The following regiments to receive fresh provisions this after- "noon,—Otway's, at four o'clock; Amherst's, at half an hour "after; Anstruther's, at five; Monckton's, at half an hour

[1] Bat-man—the man in charge of a horse carrying an officer's baggage. The order as printed in *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents* (Fourth Series), reads "boatman."

1759. June. "after; and Lawrence's, at six o'clock. Those regiments, that "want camp-equipage, are to send to Captain Leslie, Assistant "Deputy Quarter-Master-General, this afternoon at six, to "receive their proportions of what has been given into his care. "The regiments, that want tents, are to send, to-morrow "morning at six o'clock, for one hundred and forty tents "each, to the Fair American transport, lying near Port "Frederic."

I have been several times on shore, since my arrival, to view the defences of the town and citadel of Louisbourg; also the grand battery, the island, light-house point, and the bay where the army landed last year; but as all these have been particularly described by other writers, so as to be rendered universally known; and as that once famous and formidable fortress has been since dismantled, I hope I may be excused saying any thing on the subject from my own personal observations.

3d. "Fresh provisions to be delivered to all the regiments "and corps to-morrow morning at five o'clock at Point "Rochfort. The Quarter-Masters of Amherst's, Anstruther's, "and Lawrence's regiments, to attend Captain Leslie at four "o'clock this afternoon."

4th. [277] A strange sail appeared this morning off the mouth of the harbour, and a signal was made for two frigates to give her chace. This morning some of the fleet weighed and worked out: the whole are preparing to sail; the transports have got their anchors a-peek.—In the evening some ships of war cleared the harbour, and others put back and came to an anchor, the weather turning foul, with a thick fog: little or no wind.

5th. At nine o'clock this morning the remainder of our fleet, &c. weighed, and got out; weather wet and foggy. Towards noon the wind came right a-head, which obliged those ships, who were not clear of the land, to put back into the harbour, and come to an anchor. Some fishing-lines, hooks, and sinks

have been issued out to the troops, in order to use occasionally on the voyage, for the preservation of the health of our men; and it is, at the same time, recommended to steep a quantity of ginger in the fresh water which they are to drink on their passage. Mild weather to-day, with much rain. A schooner arrived from Halifax, and anchored close by our ship: the Master informs us, that a valuable prize has been very lately brought into Chebucto harbour, the crew whereof were Dutch and Spanish, loaded with stores and provisions; that she belonged to a fleet of twenty-four sail, under convoy of four frigates, who were all separated off the coast, partly by bad weather, and by endeavouring to avoid our cruisers; they came last from Bourdeaux, and were bound to Quebec.[1] 1759. June.

Fair weather; wind variable, and little of it; the remainder of our armament weighed at four o'clock A.M. and cleared the harbour and bay without any accident; at ten came up with the rest of the fleet, who had lain-to, in order to wait for us.—And, now that we are joined, imagination cannot conceive a more eligible prospect: of which, that the reader may form some idea, I shall here annex a list of our ships of war, frigates, sloops, &c. &c. independent of an immense fleet of transports, storeships, victuallers, traders, and other attendants: 6th.

[278] Ships' Names.	Guns.	Commanders.
Neptune . . .	90	Admiral Saunders, Commander in Chief, Captain Hartwell.
Princess Amelia .	80	Admiral Durell.
Dublin . . .	74	Admiral Holmes.
Royal William . .	84	Captain Piggot.
Van-guard . . .	74	Captain Swanton.
Terrible . . .	74	Captain Collins.
Captain . . .	70	Captain Amherst.
Shrewsbury . .	74	Captain Palliser.
Devonshire . . .	74	Captain Gordon.

[1] See also pp. 327, and 361 and notes.

1759. June.	Ships' Names.	Guns.	Commanders.
	Bedford	68	Captain Fowkes.
	Alcide	64	Captain Douglass.
	Somerset	68	Captain Hughes.
	Prince Frederic	64	Captain Booth.
	Pembroke	60	Captain Wheelock.
	Medway	60	Captain Proby.
	Prince of Orange	60	Captain Wallis.
	Northumberland	64	Captain Lord Colville.
	Orford	64	Captain Spry.
	Stirling Castle	64	Captain Everet.
	Centurion	60	Captain Mantle.
	Trident	54	Captain Legge.
	Sutherland	50	Captain Rouse.
Frigates,—	Diana	36	Captain Schomberg.
	Leostoffe	28	Captain Deane.
	Richmond	32	Captain Handkerson.
	Trent	28	Captain Lindsay.
	Echo	24	Captain Le Forey.
Sloops,—	Seahorse	20	Captain Smith.
	Eurus	22	Captain Elphinstone.
	Nightingale	20	Captain Campbell.
	Hind	20	Captain Bond.
[279]	Squirrel	20	Captain Hamilton.
	Scarborough	20	Captain Stott.
	Lizard	28	Captain Doak.
	Scorpion	14	Captain Cleland.
	Zephir	12	Captain Greenwood.
	Hunter	10	Captain Adams.
	Porcupine	14	Captain Jarvis.
	Baltimore	10	Captain Carpenter.
	Cormorant	8	Captain M ———.[1]
	Pelican	8	Captain Montford.
	Racehorse	8	Captain Rickards.
	Bonetta	8	Captain ———.[2]
	Vesuvius	...	Captain Chads.
	Strombolo	...	Captain Smith.
Rodney cutter		2	Captain Douglass.

[1] Captain Mouatt.

[2] Captain J. Smith.

Neptune at Sea 8th June 1759

I desire that Miss Southerin Picture may be set in Jewels to the amount of five Hundred Guineas, and returnd to her.

I leave to Col. Inglish, Col Carleton, Col Howe, & Col. Warde a Thousand Pounds each.

I desire Admiral Saunders to accept of my light sword of State, in remembrance of his Friendship.

My Camp Equipage, Kitchen Furniture, Table Linnen, Wine & provisions, I leave to the Officer who succeeds me in the Command.

All my Books & Papers both here & in England, I leave to Col Carleton.

I leave Major Barre, Capt Delaune, Capt Simpkin, Capt Bell, Capt Leslie & Capt Caldwell each a hundred Guineas, to buy swords & rings in remembrance of their Friend.

My Servant Francois shall have one Half of my Cloaths & Linnen here, and the three Footmen shall divide the rest amongst them.

All the Servants shall be paid their years Wages, and their Board Wages till they arrive in England, or till they engage with other Masters, or enter into some other profession. Besides this, I leave fifty Guineas to Francois, twenty to Ambrose, and ten to each of the others.

Giving them over and above their Legacies, I leave to my good mother, entirely at her Disposal.

Jam: Wolfe,

Witnesses
Will Delaune
Tho Bell

WOLFE'S WILL

The Bonetta and Rodney, as also the Charming Molly,[1] Europa,[2] Lawrence,[3] Peggy and Sarah,[4] Good Intent,[5] and Prosperity,[6] transport cutters, were appointed sounding vessels. 1759. June.

I had the inexpressible pleasure to observe at Louisbourg, that our whole armament, naval and military, were in high spirits; and, though, by all accounts, we shall have a numerous army and variety of difficulties to cope with, yet, under such Admirals and Generals, among whom we have the happiness to behold the most cordial unanimity, together with so respectable a fleet, and a body of well-appointed regular troops, we have reason to hope for the greatest success.

The prevailing sentimental toast among the Officers is—*British colours on every French fort, port, and garrison in America.*

Moderate weather all last night; this day it blows fresh. 7th. At five P.M. Newfoundland bore north, at three leagues distance; the [280] land covered with snow; and, as the wind comes mostly from that quarter, the air is exceedingly cold.[7]

Fine clear weather all last night and this day, with 8th.[8] moderate breezes; and the fleet all together: at noon Cape Race bore N. E. by N. about four leagues; and the island of St. Paul W. N. W. about six leagues.

Clear weather, blew hard in the gulph: at eleven A.M. 9th. the Bird islands W. by N. distant seven leagues. Moderate towards evening: at five P.M. our ship happily escaped running foul of one of our fire-ships.

Moderate clear weather, with gentle breezes. We had 10th. divine service on board; an Officer officiated as Chaplain: as we were going to prayers, about ten o'clock, we got foul of another transport, which obliged us to suspend our devotions

[1] John Lowes, master. [2] F. Burt. [3] Job Harris.
[4] J. Nichols. [5] J. Bragson. [6] P. Green.

[7] Copies of the logs of the British Fleet are in the *Dominion Archives*, M. Series, Nos. 594–604.

[8] On this day Wolfe made his will.

1759. June. for some little time: cleared the other vessel, after breaking her spritsail yard, without any other damage on either side. In the evening it blew fresh.

11th. Pleasant weather; had another escape from the before-mentioned fire-ship; made the headlands of Gaspée; bore W. S. W. distant six leagues; the wind off shore. At night the wind came right a-head, and blew hard:—saw four sail to leeward; we did not know whether friends or enemies.

12th. Blows still fresh; very near running on board the Leostoffe frigate; the fleet all together. At noon saw the S. E. end of Anticosti island, at about eight leagues distance.

13th. Fine weather, with moderate breezes; the fleet lay-to for some hours, and many men of war's boats were out; in the afternoon it fell calm; the land now on each side of us, viz. Anticosti on our starboard, which appears large and high, and does not seem to be inhabited, being closely covered with trees, mostly pine; and the eastern parts of Nova Scotia on our larboard hand.[1]

14th. Most delightful weather and favourable breezes: our fleet well together.

15th. Before this day, we have had neither fog nor hazy weather since we cleared the island of Cape Breton. Gentle breezes, with inter- [281] mitting showers of rain: the lands on the north and south shores are very high and covered with snow. We have this night remarked, that, for several mornings and evenings past, we had periodical calms, breezes, and swells.

16th. A thick fog this morning, which cleared away towards noon; the headlands are remarkably high. An Officer on board, being advised by the Surgeon to drink sea water for the scurvy, made the experiment, but found the water so fresh, as

[1] The charter by which James I granted Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander on September 10, 1621, covered all the land from Cape Sable to the River of Canada, or St. Lawrence (*Royal Letters, &c., relating to the Colonization of New Scotland:* The Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 3). English geographers of the eighteenth century describe Nova Scotia as bounded on the north by the St. Lawrence.

R. Port Nouf
Port Nouf
Sault au Cochon
Bay de Laval
C. du Columbier
Ile of Jeremy
Pte. aux Mille Vaches
Bicquet
I. of Bic
Course
Bic R.
St Barnab
Remouby

to have no effect on him: an event at which the Master of our transport expressed some surprise, as he said it was then about tide of flood. The low as well as high lands are woody on both sides; the water of a blackish colour, 'and the ripple 'occasioned by the rencounter of the strong currents down, and 'the tide of flood upwards, is extremely curious;' our wind rather perverse, though the weather is mild and pleasant. 1759. June.

Some of the headmost of our fleet came to an anchor this morning under the north shore, to wait for the rear divisions; at nine A.M. weighed again, sailed till the evening, and then came to an anchor; but, the wind soon after springing up fair, we embraced the opportunity, weighed and made sail. 17th.

Wet weather: early this morning our ship came to an anchor, in sight of the islands of Bic and Barnaby: the former bore W. by S. at nine leagues, and the other about eight leagues S. W. and by W. of our course; here we met the Richmond frigate, and a tender of Admiral Durell's squadron. A Midshipman was instantly sent on board of us, who gave us the following intelligence: 18th.

'That Mr. Durell had taken possession of the island of 'Coudre, and had proceeded to Orleans; that he also took 'three prizes, besides some small craft, laden with flour and 'other provisions; but that three frigates and ten transports 'had escaped them, and got up to the town, which is about 'thirty-five leagues from hence: that the enemy have almost 'finished a large three-decker at Quebec; and, by some 'packets that were intercepted, the Admiral has [282] re-'ceived information, that provisions, and particularly bread, 'are scarce in the French army.'[1]—This Gentleman adds, that

[1] There are several references in Wolfe's *Journal* to these events. June 18: "Intelligence that Mr. Durell was anchor'd at the I. of Coudres, that the Island was in our possession, that 3 men of war a frigate and some Transports were gone on towards the I. of Orleans—that 3 frigates and 13 merchant ships were arrived at Quebeck. . . . Cap. Hankerson told Mr. Saunders that there had been no ice in the River these *two* months. The Succours from France anchored *at Bic the 9th of May*." June 19: "Read a number of letters

1759. June. they have got a good number of Pilots, which they decoyed, on their passage up the river, by hoisting French colours with the usual signals.*

Our fleet are all in sight, though far a-stern of us; however, the wind springing up fair, and the weather clear and moderate, we again weighed and sailed until seven in the

from Quebec painting their distresses in the liveliest manner, all in general agree that they must have starved if the succours from France had not arrived." Undated memoranda: "Twenty one ships got up before Mr. Durell this Spring with 400 bad Recruits." Bell's *Journal* corroborates these statements. June 18: "Mr. Durell arrived the 27th May at the Coudres. . . . 31 sail including 5 frigates were at Quebeck, while ships were at anchor the 7th May, Mr. Durell met with no Ice, there had been none for two months in the Bay or the Gulf. . . . Numberless letters that we took mention the most extreme want of everything at Quebeck before the 31 sail arrived so that if Mr. Durell had come up the River in time everyone of the ships might have been taken and Quebeck obliged to surrender in a very few days, instead of which they have now plenty of everything. . . . We had no ships cruizing of Cape Race this Spring, which must infallibly have cut off the 31 sail." See Appendix, for list of French vessels which arrived in Quebec, May, 1759.

A French officer on board the *Chezine* frigate thus refers to the arrival of the succours at Quebec: "On the 10th of May, 1759, *Monsieur de Bougainville* arrived at *Quebec*, from *Old France*, in the *Chezine*, Captain *Duclos;* soon after which we had an Account of the Arrival in the River of 15 Merchantmen, under the Convoy of *Monsieur Kanou* (? Canon); and on the 20th counted 23 Sail in the *Bason* of *Quebec*. These Vessels came in very good time, for the *English Fleet* was soon after them, and on the Night of the 23d, the Fires on Point *Levi* gave us Notice of its approach to the *Bec*. These signals were confirmed by a Courier, who brought Intelligence, that 14 Ships were already come to an Anchor at *St. Bernebie*." (*Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec. . . . From the Journal of a French Officer. . . .* By Richard Gardiner. London: MDCCLXI, pp. 13, 14; reprinted in *The Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. pp. 239, 240.) See also the *Journal of Jean Claude Panet* (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Fourth Series).

* Upon the van of Mr. Durell's squadron having appeared under French colours, expresses were sent up to Quebec with the joyful tidings; for the enemy expected some promised succours from France, and the greatest rejoicings imaginable were made throughout the whole country: but they soon changed their note; for when a number of canoes had put off with Pilots, and those who remained on shore did not see their friends return, but, on the contrary, saw the *White* colours struck, and *British* flags hoisted in their place:—their consternation, rage, and grief were inconceivable, and had such an effect on a Priest, who stood upon the shore with a telescope in his hand, that he dropped down, and instantly expired.—*Note by author.*

evening, when the whole came to an anchor between the two islands before-mentioned. 1759. June.

The distance between Bic and the south shore is between four and five miles, both lands high and woody; before our ship came within two miles of the island, we found from seven to eight fathoms and an half, in our soundings; the N. E. end of it is rocky, and very long ledges run out from it. Though the river is of an extensive breadth between Bic and the north shore, I observe the channel here is on the south side of the river, and of the foregoing island; all our fleet keep that course. We found two other ships of Mr. Durell's squadron at anchor here; saw a great number of seals and porpusses to-day, with which this river abounds. At night fell some rain, and the wind freshened.

The fleet weighed at four o'clock this morning; wind variable: soon after, we had thick weather and a violent storm; we reefed and double-reefed, but at length were obliged to come to an anchor, and, finding a strong current to encounter with, which [283] drove our ship from her mooring, we were under a necessity of paying out one hundred and forty fathoms of cable; this blowing weather was attended with heavy rain. Towards noon it cleared up, and the wind and swell abated: before four P.M. the wind fair, and weather more moderate. A parcel of small birds flew about our ship to-day from the shore; they are very tame and familiar; one of them, having perched on the shrouds, submitted to be made a prisoner: it is about the size of a sparrow, its head and body of a copper colour, interspersed with black; its wings and tail are black and white; its beak of ebony, curved-like, though much sharper than those of a hawk or parrot, and with this farther difference, that the extremities of the upper and lower beaks cross each other; we gave it grain to eat, but it preferred feeding on flies, and whatever it could find in the crevices of boards.[1]—At seven o'clock P.M. the Richmond frigate passed 19th.

[1] The white-winged crossbill (*Loxia leucoptera*).—*Professor Ganong.*

1759. June. us, on board of whom was General Wolfe, who politely saluted us, hoping we were all well on board: at eight, came a-breast of a small island on the south side of the river, and at nine came to an anchor in twenty fathom water. We saw an immense number of sea-cows[1] rolling about our ships to-day, which are as white as snow: we diverted ourselves in firing at them, and I observed some of them, that were struck on the back with ball, did not seem sensible of it, nor did our shot make any impression on their skin or coat, but bounded as it would upon a stone; that part of their body which they expose above the water may be from twelve to fifteen feet in length, but their thickness I cannot be a judge of, having never seen them out of that element. I wish I was able to give a particular description of this animal, from my own personal authority; but, as that is not in my power, I shall present the reader with the account given by an eminent French author, Monsieur Corneille, in his own words; and, for the satisfaction of such of my readers as do not understand the French language, I shall attempt to annex a translation of it:

[284] "C'est un animal fort monstreux et amphibie, qui "surpasse quelque fois les bœufs en grosseur. Il a la peau "comme celle d'un chien marin, et la gueule d'une vache, "ce qui est cause que quelques-uns l'ont nommé vache marine "—a l'exception qu'il a deux dents qui sortent dehors "recourbées en bas et longues d'une coudée. Elles sont ausi "estimées que l'yvoire, et on les employe aux mêsmes ouvrages. "Cet animal a rarement plus d'un ou de deux petits. Il est "robuste et sauvage d'abord, et très difficile à prendre, si ce "n'est en terre; il arrive peu qu'on le prenne en l'eau. On "dit qui ne mange ni chair ni poisson, et que sa pâture "consiste en de grandes et longues feüilles d'une certaine "herbe, qui croît au fond de la mer."

"It is an amphibious animal, and generally of so large a

[1] The walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*). Captain Bell says, "We saw a good many, who for horrid ugliness may vie with any other creature whatever."

" size, as even to exceed some oxen: it has a skin like to that 1759.
" of a sea-dog, and a mouth like a cow (which is the reason of June.
" their being called, by some authors, a sea-cow) with this excep-
" tion, that it has two projecting teeth, crooked downwards, to
" the length of about half a yard; these teeth (or tusks more
" properly) are as valuable as ivory, and are applied to the
" same uses. This animal has seldom more than one or two
" young ones; it is strong, extremely wild, and very difficult
" to be taken, except on shore: it seldom happens that they
" are taken in the water. It is averred that they neither eat
" flesh nor fish, but that their food consists of large leaves
" of a certain submarine weed, known by the name of sea
" sorrel."

I shall here subjoin what I was afterwards told by a Missionary of Quebec, with whom I sometimes conversed about these and other curiosities in this country:—The inhabitants, says he, of the E. and N. E. parts of Acadia, frequently take these sea-cows by the following stratagem:—they tie a bull to a stake, fixed on the shore, in the depth of about two feet of water; they then beat and [285] otherwise torment him, by twisting his tail, until they make him roar; which as soon as these animals hear, they make towards the shore, and, when they get into shallow water, they crawl to the bull, and are then taken with little difficulty: their fore-feet are, in all respects, like those of a cow; the hinder feet are webbed, or joined by a membrane, like a goose: they have no hair about them, except on their head, which is generally white or grey; they are covered with a hard scaly substance or shell, which, however, turns to no account; these people, as well as the savages, eat some parts of this animal, and what they dislike they boil, with its fat, to an oily or greasy substance, with which they save or cure the skins of other animals for leather.

Agreeable weather to-day, and warm; wind variable, and 20th.
little of it. At eight A.M. we doubled the entrance of Tadousac

1759. June. bay on the north side, and Red Island on the south:[1] I am informed, that within this bay is an excellent harbour, which communicates, by the river Seguenny, with Hudson's bay, and is navigable for large trading vessels for nine or ten leagues up the country.* The entrance of that bay or harbour does not appear to be above half a mile over, and may be easily known; for, on the west side, a little to the southward of the entrance, is a small flat island, of a reddish sandy colour, with some grass on it, but clear of wood or bushes. Here the river St. Lawrence is not above eight miles or three leagues over, and the lands all round us are lofty, and thickly covered with trees; as we came a-breast of Tadousac, we incountered the strongest rippling current I ever saw; it runs nine or ten knots in an hour, and, at the same time, the wind dying away, drove back some of our transports, and many of them luckily escaped falling foul of each other, particularly of the smaller craft. Another of the birds, described yesterday, visited us to-day; there is a trifling difference between it and the former, I mean as to its plumage [286] being somewhat brighter than the first is; they were glad to meet, seem to like our European grain, and have a pretty wild chirping note: we think they are male and female, and that the last, by his sprightliness, is the cock. At one P.M. came to an anchor off the islands, weighed again

[1] Tadoussac, situated at the junction of the Saguenay with the St. Lawrence, had been a rendezvous of the Montagnais and other Indian tribes of Eastern Canada. It became an important trading-post under the French, who had begun to visit it by the middle of the sixteenth century. By means of portages from the tributaries of Lake St. John, communication was established at an early date with the rich fur district of Hudson Bay. Tadoussac is frequently mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations*. A mission was established there in 1640, and the last Jesuit in charge, Father de la Brosse, continued his ministrations until long after the conquest, dying there in 1782. See Dionne, *La Nouvelle France de Cartier à Champlain*, pp. 39, 185 *et seq.*; *Jesuit Relations*, ed. Thwaites, vol. i. 15, and *passim*.

* See Dr. Douglass's History of America.[2]—*Note by author.*

[2] *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America.* By William Douglas, M.D. Two volumes, London, 1760. The reference is to vol. i. p. 8.

at eight in the evening, and anchored about ten at night; I believe the reason of our weighing in the evening proceeded from many ships being drove from their anchors in the afternoon by the rapidity of the current, which, however, does not run with equal force every-where. 1759. June.

Wind W. N. W. and blows fresh; continually anchoring and weighing again, as before. At ten A.M. saw a few houses on the south shore, and beyond them a great fire in the woods. At one P.M. came to an anchor off a neat settlement, consisting of thirty or forty houses, on the same side of the river, and a large tract of clear cultivated land adjoining to them; I lament our not having a Pilot on board, from whom I could learn the bearings, distances, and many other particulars of this country and navigation. The habitations before-mentioned are the first we have seen since we entered the river St. Lawrence; quite calm this evening. 21st.

At eight A.M. the fleet weighed; anchored at two P.M. and in an hour after weighed again; we did not run long before we had a signal to drop, and accordingly we came to anchor in twenty fathom water, off a fine large settlement or village, on the south shore, with a neat church to it; the wind variable with some rain. Here we have islands on every side of us, with no remarkable current. The lands on the south side of the river seem to be tolerably well cultivated. We made several tacks from north to south to-day, and got from five to ten and an half fathom water. Between five and six P.M. weighed again, with a fair wind, but blowing so fresh, that we were obliged to reef; we sailed until nine at night, and then anchored in fifteen fathom water, close under the north shore. The Master of the Good-will transport, who is an elderly man, one of the younger brothers of Trinity-house, a [287] Pilot for the river Thames, and an experienced mariner,[1] says, he has sailed up most of the principal rivers in 22d.

[1] Thomas Killick, master of the *Goodwill* transport in the White Division. The Corporation of Trinity House is an association of English mariners which

1759. June. Europe, and that he esteems the river St. Lawrence to be the finest river, the safest navigation, with the best anchorage in it, of any other within his knowledge; that it is infinitely preferable to the Thames or the Rhone, and that he has not yet met with the least difficulty in working up. He added, 'when we go higher up, if they should put a French Pilot on board of me, ye shall see, Masters, how I will treat him.'—We have had frequent opportunities of speaking with other ships in this voyage, and, by one of them, we are told, that a Midshipman of Admiral Durell's ship was surprised on the isle of Coudre, and made prisoner.[1] We also learn, that a ship has been intercepted, bound to France, on board of whom was a female relation of the Governor-General of Canada, with several nuns, and some families of distinction; all of whom were returned by the Admiral to Quebec, under a flag of truce, that they may have ocular proof of the valour of a British armament, and, we hope, of the reduction of their boasted capital of Canada.

It is reported, by French Pilots, that some frigates and sixty transports got up the river last autumn, while Sir Charles Hardy's squadron was at Gaspée.[2]

received its first charter from Henry VIII in 1514. Its duties have included the erection and maintenance of lighthouses and buoys, the supervision of pilots, the assistance of indigent seamen, and the promotion in other ways of the welfare of the national marine. In 1604 the members were divided into Elder and Younger Brethren, and in 1609 the management of the institution was restricted to the higher class. Of the thirteen acting Elder Brethren, eleven are elected from the merchant service and two from the Royal Navy.

[1] "On the 8th of June 2 midshipn: belonging to Adl. Durell were taken off from Coudre Isle; notwithstanding Major Agnews diligence and precaution, who then commanded there. We imagine some Indians or Canadians came in the night from the main in their canoes and conceal'd themselves in the woods till opportunity shou'd favour their errand which unluckily happen'd early this morning: for under the sanction of a thick fog they executed their scheme on the 3 said young gent'n."—James Gibson to Governor Lawrence, Basin of Quebec, August 1, 1759 (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 63).

[2] Captain Bell, under date of June 18, says: "61 sail of ships got up the River last autumn about the time and after we left Gaspé. The Colony was worse then than it has been since, if possible. if Sir Charles Hardy or any ships had stayed, none of these things had got up."

Weighed between two and three A.M. weather moderate, and wind fair: in about five hours after, came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water; the reason of our not working up with more dispatch does not proceed from any obstructions in the navigation, but in the necessity there is of sounding as we advance; for which purpose, a number of boats are out a-head. By the situation of this river, of the capital, and of the upper country, it is not possible for a fleet to sail up to Quebec, without its Governor's having the earliest notice of it; this is apparently a great advantage. We have settlements now on each side of us, the land uncommonly high above the level of the river; and we see large signal-fires every where before us:—Mr. Durell's squadron, and the island of Coudre [288] are just discernible. At ten A.M. the rear division coming close up with us, we weighed;—at two P.M. made the island of Coudre, and sailed by the Admiral and seven ships of the line, who were at anchor in a place called the Narrows,[1] which is near two miles over, with very deep water. The river is of an immense breadth between the island and the south country, but the channel is on the north side of it. Coudre is large, for the most part cultivated, and, by the number of houses, it seems to have been tolerably well inhabited; churches, crucifixes, and images are now to be seen almost every-where. The land on the north side of the island is the highest I ever remember to have seen, and justly deserves the name of a mountain: it is a barren rock, having neither trees nor grass on it, and only producing a short kind of heath, with a few shrubs on the lower part of the face of it. At a small distance, north-west of this promontory, stands another, and between the two lies a beautiful vale, in which is situated the pleasant-looking village (with a large parish-church) of St. Paul: here we had in our view a number of cattle on

1759. June. 23d.

[1] "The Narrows." Doubtless part of the Channel between the Island of Coudre and the north shore of the river. The same designation is applied to other points on the St. Lawrence.

1759. June. shore, particularly horses, and several men and women; I think I never saw a settlement in a more desirable place, and the buildings appear cleanly and decent. Between Coudre and the north shore is a most rapid current; the Master of the Good-will says it runs near ten miles in an hour; here we got foul of another transport, and luckily cleared her again without any accident. At five P.M. came to an anchor at somewhat better than a mile's distance W. S. W. of Coudre, and about two miles from a straggling settlement, also on the north side, called St. Joseph. One of our sounding-boats was fired at from the shore, upon which a boat, full of men and Officers from the 15th regiment, who were a-stern of us, put off to amuse the enemy, until the other should take all the soundings along shore; our people made several feints, as if intending to land at different places, from each of which the enemy directed a heavy fire, but they were not within reach of their shot; these unhappy natives paid dear for [289] this behaviour, as will be seen in the sequel of this work. The man of war's boat executed her commission without any farther molestation, and the detachment of the 15th returned to their transport. The weather, since we entered the river St. Lawrence, has been in general moderate, and free from fogs, at least since we doubled Anticosti Island; when ever it was gloomy and threatened rain, there appeared a thick haze upon the highest eminences, but nothing more than one usually meets with in other more equal climates. This evening we have sultry close airs.

24th. Clear weather, and inconceivably hot; wind at S. S. W. and blew hard;[1] by the violence of the wind, and the strength of the tide, many ships were drove from their moorings: two

[1] General Wolfe spent the day in Ile Madame and left some Rangers there. Knox speaks of the weather as being inconceivably hot. Captain Bell, referring to the heat up to this time, says "hot," or "very hot," but on this day it was "excessive hott." General Wolfe was informed that there were some men on the island of Orleans.

transports ran foul of us last night; happily no damage was sustained. About noon it was squally, which rendered our situation unpleasant; towards evening it was more moderate: at night we had violent thunder and lightning, succeeded by an uncommon fall of heavy rain, and a profound calm. 1759. June.

Fine weather but no wind: the fleet weighed at two o'clock A.M. and worked higher up with the tide of flood for two hours, and then came to an anchor; the Good-will moored in five fathom water, where, had we remained until the lowest ebb, we should have found ourselves in a very precarious situation: however it was timely discovered for us to change our birth, and, after bringing home our anchor, we stood in for the north shore, which is very bold; there we found the channel, with ten fathom water. Along the south shore, and a-head of us, we see many islands, and, though the river is here several leagues in breadth, it is nevertheless, in most places, shallow and rocky. A trading schooner struck on a rock, near to the place where we first anchored, and instantly went to pieces; the weather being moderate, the crew were saved, and some few casks of wine; but the greatest part of the cargo was lost: the Master of the Good-will says we should probably have shared the same unhappy fate, had we remained where [290] we were. The air extremely sultry, and we were visited by musketa's, which were very troublesome to us for a few hours, but they were at length dispersed by some welcome breezes, that blew favourably for us; and the fleet, taking the advantage of them, weighed at eleven A.M.—At three P.M. a French Pilot was put on board of each transport, and the man, who fell to the Good-will's lot, gasconaded at a most extravagant rate, and gave us to understand it was much against his inclination that he was become an English Pilot. The poor fellow assumed great latitude in his conversation; said, 'he made no doubt that some of the 'fleet would return to England, but they should have a dismal 'tale to carry with them; for Canada should be the grave of 25th.

1759. June. 'the whole army, and he expected, in a short time, to see the 'walls of Quebec ornamented with English scalps.' Had it not been in obedience to the Admiral, who gave orders that he should not be ill used, he would certainly have been thrown over-board. At four P.M. we passed the Traverse,[1] which is

[1] "The TRAVERSE lies at the E. or N.E. End of the Isle of *Orleans*, about twenty Miles below *Quebec*, where the River St. Lawrence divides itself into two Channels, one running on the *North*, and the other on the *South* Side of *Orleans*. The Breadth of the River, from *Shore* to *Shore*, from Cape *Torment* to *Bertier*, is about nine Miles, but the Mouth of the *South* Channel, which our Fleet passed at the *Traverse*, is choaked up with a number of Rocks, and Sands, and little Islands. From the N.E. End of it, at the Distance of four Leagues to the S.W., are Sands and Rocks running up for twelve Miles to the Isle *Vertu*, which is two Leagues long; opposite to this is another Island, guarded with a round Sand, bigger and broader than itself considerably, being only a Mile and a Half long, called the Isle Rouge; the Passage of the Fleet, between these two Islands, is a League and a Half broad.

"From the *Isle Rouge*, proceeding on to the S.W. about four Leagues, is situated the Isle *Au Lievre*, the Approach to which, on the *North* Side, is prevented by a Sand five Miles long, and three Quarters broad, with a Rock in the Middle of it; on the *South* Side are three little Rocks, and from the Middle of this Island to the S.W. End of it, runs a Sand twelve Miles long, and three broad, with three Rocks in it. Opposite this Sand, to the Southward, are four Rocks, and a Sand with five more Rocks a little higher up upon it; the Passage for the Shipping between these two Sands, to the *South* of *Lievre*, is about a League broad, and on the *North* side of the Island but Half a one: This Sand extends above fifteen Miles from below *Les Pelleciers* up to Cape *Camoras*, and higher.

"About seven Miles farther up, a broad *Oval* Sand runs almost across the River, within three Miles of *Cape Au Oye*, on the opposite Shore; the River is here about ten Miles broad, seven of which are covered with this Sand, to the Westward of which is another Sand and Rock, and the Island of *Au Coudre*, the Passage open to the Fleet between them not being broader than one Mile and a Half.

"From the Isle *Au Coudre* up to the *Traverse* is one continual and wide extended Sand lying in the Middle of the River, full of Rocks, stretching thirty Miles in Length, and better than two Leagues broad in some Parts of it. The Passage on each Side for the Squadron, in the narrowest Part, is only a Mile and a Half, on the *North* Side it is scarce a Mile.

"This Sand with the little Isles *Aux Rots*, *Madame*, and the Sands interspersed around them, lead the Approach to the Island of *Orleans*, and the Mouth of the *South* Channel to *Quebec* at the *Traverse;* and from the *Traverse* up to *Quebec* the Navigation is already mentioned in the Dedication.

"From Point *Levi* all along the Coast to the Mountains of *Our Lady*, on the *South* Shore, a Distance of about 120 Miles, are situated a number of

reputed a place of the greatest difficulty and danger, between the entrance of St. Lawrence and Quebec: it lies between Cape Tourmente (a remarkably high, black-looking promontory) and the east end of Orleans on the starboard side, and isle de Madame on the larboard. Off Orleans we met some of our ships of war at anchor. Here we are presented with a view of a clear, open country, with villages and churches innumerable; which last, as also their houses, being all white-limed on the outsides, gives them a neat elegant appearance from our ships. At five in the evening we had a violent storm of rain, and at six we anchored in fifteen fathom water. As soon as the Pilot came on board to-day, he gave his directions for the working of the ship, but the Master would not permit him to speak; he fixed his Mate at the helm, charged him not to take orders from any person except himself, and, going forward with his trumpet to the forecastle, gave the necessary instructions. All that could be said by the Commanding-Officer, and the other Gentlemen on board, was to [291] no purpose; the Pilot declared we should be lost, for that no French ship ever presumed to pass there without a Pilot; 'aye, aye, my dear' (replied our son of Neptune) 'but 'd—— me I'll convince you, that an Englishman shall go where 1759. June.

Towns and Villages, and a greater still in Proportion to the Distance, on the *Canada* or *North* Side."—Note by Captain Gardiner in *Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec from the Journal of a French Officer*, London, 1761.

Many French accounts speak of the astonishment in Quebec at the success of the English fleet in the navigation of the St. Lawrence, which had been considered very dangerous. The pilot of the port was questioned, and said that no soundings had been taken in the river for many years; he had asked for the money necessary to do this, but had been refused.—*Quebec Under Two Flags*, p. 75.

Bougainville, in a memoir to the French Court, dated Versailles, January 12, 1759, had recommended the erection of batteries at Cap Tourmente, commanding the Traverse, at Isle aux Coudres, and at other points below Quebec (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. iv. pp. 85–86). There are several references in the *Journal de Montcalm* to similar proposals. Nothing, however, was done. The Chevalier Johnstone, Montcalm's aide-de-camp, in his *Dialogue in Hades* (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Second Series) ascribes the proposals to Montcalm, and implies that Vaudreuil was responsible for the failure to execute them.

1759. June. 'a Frenchman dare not shew his nose.' The Richmond frigate being close a-stern of us, the Commanding-Officer called out to the Captain, and told him our case; he inquired who the Master was?—and was answered from the forecastle by the man himself, who told him 'he was old Killick, and that was 'enough.' I went forward with this experienced mariner, who pointed out the channel to me as we passed, shewing me, by the ripple and colour of the water, where there was any danger; and distinguishing the places where there were ledges of rocks (to me invisible) from banks of sand, mud, or gravel. He gave his orders with great unconcern, joked with the sounding-boats who lay off on each side, with different-coloured flags for our guidance; and, when any of them called to him, and pointed to the deepest water, he answered, 'aye, aye, my dear, 'chalk it down, a d——d dangerous navigation—eh, if you 'don't make a sputter about it, you'll get no credit for it in 'England, &c.' After we had cleared this remarkable place, where the channel forms a complete zig-zag, the Master called to his Mate to give the helm to somebody else, saying, 'D—— me, if there are not a thousand places in the Thames 'fifty times more hazardous than this; I am ashamed that 'Englishmen should make such a rout about it.'—The Frenchman asked me, if the Captain had not been here before? I assured him in the negative, upon which he viewed him with great attention, lifting, at the same time, his hands and eyes to heaven with astonishment and fervency.

26th. We had incessant rain, thunder and lightning all this night past. Our division weighed early this morning: at seven A.M. came to an anchor off the parish of St. Lawrence, on the island of Orleans, in eighteen fathom water: this is the deepest course of [292] the river, the channel on the north side of the island having only a sufficient depth of water for boats, and other small craft, as we are told; but of this, I presume, we shall be better informed, before many months are elapsed. Here we are entertained with a most agreeable prospect of a delightful country on every side; windmills, water-mills,

churches, chapels, and compact farm-houses, all built with stone, and covered, some with wood, and others with straw. The lands appear to be every-where well cultivated, and, with the help of my glass, I can discern that they are sowed with flax, wheat, barley, pease, &c. and the grounds are enclosed with wooden pales. The weather to-day is agreeably warm; a light fog sometimes hangs over the Highlands, but in the river we have a fine clear air. Where we now ride, the tide does not run above six knots an hour, and we have good anchorage; the rest of our fleet are working up, and, by the situation of affairs, I am inclined to think we are happily arrived at the place, that, to all appearance, will be the theatre of our future operations. In the curve of the river, while we were under sail, we had a transient view of a stupendous natural curiosity, called the water-fall of Montmorency, of which I hope, before the close of the campaign, to be able to give a satisfactory relation. A point of land running from the west-end of Orleans, and inclining to the southward, intercepts our prospect of Quebec at present, from which we are now between five and six miles; the country-people, on the south shore, are removing their effects in carts, and conducting them, under escorts of armed men, to a greater distance. At ten o'clock A.M. a signal was made for the Quarter-Masters of regiments, by which we conjecture the army will be ordered to prepare to land. At three P.M. another signal was made for the transports to work up under the Commodore's stern, and we soon after anchored again, off the parish church of St. Lawrence. 1759. June.

[293] The following ORDERS are just now published:

"On board the Richmond off the island of Orleans, June 26.

"Captain Deane will range the transports in proper order "along the shore of the isle of Orleans this afternoon, and to-"morrow morning, about six o'clock, a signal will be made for "landing. The sloops and schooners, that have rangers on

1759. June. "board, are to draw close in shore: the six companies of rangers, "and Captain Cardin's company of light infantry, are to be "landed first, to reconnoitre the country. The flat-bottomed "boats only will be employed in landing the men; they are to "assemble at the Leostoffe at four in the morning, and from "thence first to the rangers, &c. then to Amherst's regiment, "then to the other corps, according to their rank, or the con- "veniency of their situation; the men are to take their "knapsacks, tents, camp-equipage, and one blanket of the "ship-bedding, besides their own blankets: thirty-six rounds "of ammunition, all the tools, and four days provisions. The "rangers, and light infantry, are not to take their baggage on "shore in the morning, two days provisions and a blanket "only. As the weather, in the months of July and August, "is generally very warm in Canada, there are to be no more "than five men in a tent, or, if the Commanding Officer likes "it better, and has camp-equipages enough, he may order "only four. Otway's, Webb's, and the Highland regiments, "who are each in number equal to two battalions, are to "incamp their companies in double rows of tents, that they "may have more air, and more room in their incampment, "and consequently be healthy. The two pieces of artillery in "the Russel are to be landed after the troops are on shore, "or sooner, if there be occasion. The Officers must be con- "tented with very little baggage for a day or two, until it can "be conveniently carried to the camp. In each flat-bottomed "boat there will be an Officer of the men of war and twelve "seamen; and no more than seventy soldiers are to be landed "at a [294] time: these will help to row the boats. The "provisions for the troops are to be for the future at full "allowance."

27th. Lieutenant Meech,[1] with forty rangers, landed, late last

[1] A Meech family was settled in Connecticut. One Daniel Meach was appointed Ensign in the 11th Regiment of Colonial troops of Connecticut in 1754 (*Colonial Records of Connecticut*, x. 313).

This Lieutenant Meech, who was serving in Nova Scotia the preceding

night, on the island of Orleans without opposition; they went soon after on a scout, and, in the woods on the north side of the island, they met a body of the inhabitants who were secreting their effects; the rangers, seeing them much superior in numbers, wanted to avoid them, but were pushed so close as to be almost surrounded; which Mr. Meech perceiving, resolved upon engaging, as the only resource whereby he and his men had any probability of extricating themselves: they accordingly skirmished for a few minutes, when the Canadians, not relishing such treatment, even on their own ground, retired a little way; which Mr. Meech suspecting to be a snare laid for him, instead of pursuing, withdrew to a farm-house, and took post there until it was clear day-light: the rangers had one man killed,[1] whom this morning they went in search of, and found him scalped and butchered in a very barbarous manner; whereupon they went in pursuit of the enemy, and traced them, by their blood, to the water's edge, on the north side of the island, whence this expert officer supposes they embarked. The army landed this morning, pursuant to yesterday's orders, on the fertile and agreeable island of Orleans, and under the church of Laurentius, (or St. Lawrence). The light troops scoured the island, and took some cattle and hogs; we marched about a mile north-west of the place of landing, and incamped in one line, with our front to the north-ward. As we halted for some time on the beach, after we came on shore, I went with some other Officers to take a view of the church, which is a neat building with a steeple and spire: all the ornaments of the altar were removed, a few indifferent painting [*sic*] only remaining; the Rector (or 1759. June.

year (see p. 196), appears to have been in Hazen's company of Rangers, and to have been killed on August 4, 1759.—*Journal of the Expedition up the St. Lawrence* (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Fourth Series).

[1] "Scott's Rangers last night laid in ambuscade for the enemy, but they got themselves licked, one man killed and 3 or 4 wounded."—*Bell's Journal*, June 27.

1759. June. Curate) of the parish left a letter behind him, directed *To the Worthy Officers of the British Army;* praying, 'That, from their 'well known humanity and gene- [295] rosity, they would 'protect that church and its sacred furniture, as also his house 'and other tenements adjoining to it; and this, if not for his 'sake, yet for the love and mercy of God, and in compassion to 'his wretched and distracted parishioners;' he added, 'that he 'wished we had arrived a little earlier, that we might have 'enjoyed the benefit of such vegetables, viz. asparagus, radishes, '&c. &c. as his garden produced, and are now gone to seed;' he concluded his epistle with many frothy compliments, and kind wishes, &c. consistent with that kind of politeness so peculiar to the French. An abler pen than mine might find sufficient subject for encomiums on the beauties and situation of this island, which is universally confessed to be a most delighful spot: it lies on a noble river in the heart of a charming country, and surrounded by a great number of natural curiosities and pleasant villages; the north-west end and north side of Orleans are woody, and all the rest of it is laid out in compact farms, and very well cultivated: the soil appears to be fruitful, producing every species of grain and vegetables as the best lands in England. The inhabitants abandoned their houses, after having removed all their effects; and such articles as were of least value they concealed in the woods on the island. General Wolfe took an escort of light troops, accompanied by Major M'Kellar, our chief Engineer, to the west end of Orleans, in order to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, the garrison, the bason, and the circumjacent country; he discovered the French army incamped on the north side of the river, their right extending close to Quebec, and their left towards the cataract of Montmorency; the ground which the French General has made choice of is high and strong by nature, with the village of Beauport in the center of their camp, and that of Charlebourg in the rear of their right: to this post they are all employed in adding every

kind of work, that art can invent, to render it impenetrable. 1759. June.
In the afternoon we had a dreadful storm of wind and rain, which lasted for some hours; the troops were very fortunate in finding great quan- [296] tities of wheaten and pease straw that had been lately threshed, with some excellent hay to lie upon. A boat was sent down to view our fleet in the river, and was taken. Some detachments from the army marched this evening towards the west end of the island, by way of amusing the enemy; and returned soon after to camp. Great damage has been sustained in the fleet this afternoon by the storm; it fell mostly on the boats and other small craft; some transports were driven on shore, and others ran foul of each other: many of the flat-bottomed boats suffered much by this hurricane, and several of them are rendered unfit for farther service; the weather is now more moderate towards night.

"ORDERS.

"A cantonment-guard to be mounted immediately by 28th.
" Otway's regiment at the General's quarters, consisting of one
" Captain, three Subalterns, four Serjeants, four Corporals, and
" one hundred men. All detachments of light infantry, and all
" companies of rangers, when posted on the front, rear, or on
" the flanks of the army, if out of sight are to acquaint the
" Officer commanding the brigade or corps nearest to them of
" their situation. The detachment that was under Colonel
" Carleton's command is to return their tools, and spare ammu-
" nition, immediately to the Commanding Officer of Artillery.
" Whenever the regiments send for straw, or any thing else they
" want, proper Officers must go with their men, to prevent such
" irregularities as the General saw yesterday, and will be obliged
" to punish very severely. No detachments, either with, or
" without arms, are to be sent to any distance from the camp,
" without the knowledge of the Brigadier-General of the day.

1759. June. "Regiments, or detachments, when cantoned, must always have "an alarm-post, or place of assembly. It is ordered once for "all, that soldiers are to keep close to their incampment, and "are not to pass beyond the out posts or guards, nor wander "through the country in the disorderly manner that has [297] "been perceived here. *The army must hold themselves in readiness "always to get under arms, either to march or fight, at the shortest "notice.* When the ten companies of the grenadiers of the line "are collected as one corps, they are to be commanded by "Colonel Burton, and Major Morris to assist him. When the "light infantry of the line are formed into one corps, they are "to receive their orders from Colonel Howe, who has Major "Hussey to assist him. The grenadiers of Louisbourg, and "Major Dalling's light infantry, are to receive their orders from "Colonel Carleton. This last corps, two companies of rangers, "the Quarter-Masters and Camp-Colourmen of the army, and "a Hatchet-man with a felling axe from each regiment, to "assemble at Major Dalling's cantonment to-morrow at twelve "o'clock, in readiness to march under Colonel Carleton's com-"mand: Captain D——,[1] the Engineer, to go with this detach-"ment. Major Scott is immediately to order a company of "rangers to take charge of the cattle for the use of the army. "All seamen, found strolling from the beach up to the "country, are to be taken up and sent prisoners to the canton-"ment-guard at the head quarters: four days' provisions for "the troops will be landed this day; the rangers to receive six "days'. Orderly hour at nine o'clock at the head quarters. "As the Quarter-Masters of the regiments will be much "wanted in camp to-morrow, on account of the delivery of "provisions, only a Serjeant, and three Camp-Colour-men of "a regiment, are to parade to-morrow for the Quarter-Master "General; the whole to be commanded by a Subaltern."

[1] Hugh Debieg, appointed Engineer in Ordinary and Captain, March 17, 1759; Chief Engineer in Newfoundland, 1765; on the Staff of General Amherst, 1779.

This night, about twelve o'clock, the enemy sent down five fire-ships, and two rafts, to destroy our fleet; as they drew near to the west end of the island, some cannon that had been loaded, on board the vessels, with round and grape shot, played off and rattled about the shore and trees at that extremity; which so disconcerted some small detached parties, and our centries,[1] that they quitted [298] their posts, and, in retiring towards the camp, fell in upon each other in a confused manner, and alarmed the army: the picquets were immediately advanced, with the light troops, to the north side of the island; the line turned out, and were ordered to load: the quarter and rear guards remained under arms, until it was clear day-light. Nothing could be more formidable than these infernal engines were on their first appearance, with the discharge of their guns, which was followed by the bursting of grenado's, also placed on board in order to convey terror into our army; the enemy, we are told, formed sanguine expectations from this project, but their hopes were happily defeated; some of these dreadful messengers ran on shore, and the rest were towed away clear of our fleet by the seamen, who exerted themselves with great spirit and alertness on the occasion. They were certainly the grandest fire-works (if I may be allowed to call them so) that can possibly be conceived, every circumstance having contributed to their awful, yet beautiful, appearance; the night was serene and calm, there was no light but what the stars produced, and this was eclipsed by the blaze of the floating fires, issuing from all parts, and running almost as quick as thought up the masts and rigging; add to this the solemnity of the sable night, still more obscured by the profuse clouds of smoke, with the firing of the cannon, the bursting of the grenado's, and the crackling of the other combustibles; all which reverberated thro' the air, and the adjacent woods, together with the sonorous shouts, and frequent repetitions of *All's well*, from our gallant seamen on

1759. June.

[1] "out-centries": see Errata.

1759. June. the water, afforded a scene, I think, infinitely superior to any adequate description.[1]

Though this sight was intirely new, and unexpected by the soldiery, which, I am credibly informed, was not the case with our Commanders (they having been apprised of these matters, before they left England) we had the pleasure to observe our men were not at all dismayed, but, on the

[1] Fire-ships were usually constructed as follows. Two tracks of five-inch timbers, hollowed into troughs, were laid around the deck, and connected from side to side by cross-troughs. All communicated with the stopped port-holes, which were designed to blow open when the fire had gained headway, and with the pitch barrels, which spread the flames into the masts and rigging. These troughs, and the decks also, were well laid with melted resin. Funnels were provided to carry a strong updraught from between-decks towards the rigging. A trough laid with quick-match, communicating with a sally-port in the ship's side, enabled the crew to fire the ship completely in a minute or two before leaving. Each barrel of priming composition contained 100 pounds of gunpowder, 50 of saltpetre, 40 of sulphur, 6 of resin, and 3 pints of oil. Fire-ships generally cost about five dollars per ton to prepare, but these French vessels were much more expensive. The disappointment in Quebec at their failure was correspondingly great. The so-called *Journal de Montcalm* declares indignantly that "our dear fire-ships," which cost from fifteen to eighteen hundred thousand francs, were set on fire when three leagues away from the enemy, for whom they only provided some "bad jokes." The Sieur Delouche, who was in charge of the undertaking, complained that the Intendant and M. Mercier, commandant of the artillery, compelled them to set out before everything was in readiness (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. vi. p. 561). The *Journal de Foligné* lays the blame on Delouche, and says that, when more than a league and a half from the English fleet, he became panic-stricken and set fire to his ship. His example was followed by all the other captains except M. du Bois de la Multierre, who held on pluckily for another half hour, until, hemmed in by the other burning vessels of the flotilla, he lost his life in the flames. "Never," says the same document, "was there more general murmuring on the part of the people" (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. pp. 171–2). Wolfe at least had had some warning of the French plans. Before leaving England he had been given Patrick Mackellar's report on Quebec, dated July 12, 1757, in which mention is made of *radeaux à feu*, or fire-rafts, constructed of logs (*Siege of Quebec*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 279: the original is in the possession of the editor). Panet, in his *Journal du Siège de Québec*, says under date of June 8, 1759: "Tous les navires, à l'exception des frégates et flûtes du Roy, furent désarmés et destinés à faire des brûlots" (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, *Historical Documents*, Fourth Series, 1875). See also the *Journal de Montcalm*, May 26 (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. vii. p. 526).

contrary, were eager to meet the enemy on such open ground as we then occupied, even under the [299] disadvantages of night, and our being strangers to the country. But, with due deference to superior judgment, I am of opinion the expectation and design of these fire-stages ought to have been communicated to the troops, that they might have been the better prepared against any surprise from the enemy co-operating therewith; for, had the French General been so circumstanced, as to have had it in his power to spare (without any considerable diminution of his army) three or four thousand choice veterans, or perhaps half that number, at so critical a juncture, it is difficult to say what turn our affairs might have taken. Therefore, with all respect, I would recommend, that, on every future occasion, all expectant occurrences of this nature may be imparted to and circulated throughout the army. 1759. June.

"ORDERS.

"All detachments and outposts, that are placed for the 29th.
"security of the camp, are to fortify themselves in the best
"manner they can, either by intrenching, planting palisadoes,
"or by cutting down trees, and making a breast-work of their
"trunks, with the branches thrown forwards. In this situation
"a small party will be able to defend itself until succour arrives,
"or, at least, will give time for the troops to get under arms.
"No centries are ever to be placed within point-blank musket-
"shot of any wood, unless behind stones or trees, so as not to
"be seen. In a woody country detachments must never halt
"or incamp in the little openings of the woods, nor ever pass
"through them without examining the skirts with all imaginable
"care and precaution: *next to valour, the best qualities in a*
"*military man are vigilance and caution.* If the provisions can
"be landed, and the carts brought up, the army will march
"to-morrow by the left, by files, in one column, and in the

1759. June. "order in which they should have been incamped. The "generale beats at four, the assembly at five, the army marches "at six. Colonel Howe's corps of light infantry, with the "Quarter-Master and Camp-Colour-men, are to precede the "march of the army two hours, and post detachments in all "the sus- [300] pected places on the road, to prevent the "columns being fired at, from behind trees, *by rascals who dare* "*not shew themselves.* When Captain Hazen's company of "rangers, which is appointed to guard the cattle, and closes "the march of the army, has passed the nearest of Colonel "Howe's detachments, that detachment, and the rest as they "go along, fall in behind the rangers, and become a rear-guard: "the carts of every regiment are to follow their own respective "corps. There must be no firing of muskets but in a soldier-"like manner, by order of the Commander of the corps, in the "middle of the day. Major Scott will give directions to the "body of rangers on this head, because the practice is most "common amongst them. As the muskets are soon loaded "upon any alarm, the regiments must avoid the waste of "ammunition, and frequent mischiefs that happen by having "the muskets loaded in the bell-tents. Covers for the hammers "of the muskets must be provided, that the arms may not go "off and do harm. The first soldier, who is taken beyond the "out-guard, either in the front, rear, or flanks of the army, "contrary to the most positive orders, shall be tried by a general "court-martial; and a soldier, who is found with plunder in "his tent, or returning to the army with plunder of any kind, "not taken by order, shall be sent directly to the Provost in "irons, in order to be tried for his life. An inclosed place being "necessary, near the camp, for the security of the cattle of the "army, the soldiers are therefore forbid to break down any "fence for fire-wood or other purposes, where the cattle are "shut in. Those regiments, who have not been able to find "out the sloops or small vessels allotted to them for their light "baggage, are to take the smallest of their own transports for

"that purpose. Orders to that effect have been given by the "Admiral." 1759. June.

The enemy's fire-ships and *Radeaux à Feu* continued burning until five o'clock this morning; one of them went on shore at the N. W. point of this island, another on the S. S. W. point, and the rest were towed away, and anchored close under the south shore. The Officer, [301] who had the command of all the advanced parties on the western extremity of Orleans, that abandoned their posts, and caused an alarm in the army, was put under an arrest, in order to be tried by a general court-martial, whenever it could be conveniently assembled; but, in consideration of his excellent character, both as an Officer and a Gentleman, and at the generous interposition of Brigadier-General Monckton, his Excellency General Wolfe was pleased to forgive him *,[1] to the inexpressible joy of every Officer of his acquaintance. The soldiers have brought in great quantities of plunder, such as apparel, kitchen and household furniture, &c. that they found concealed in pits in the woods. The troops at this time are ill-off for fresh provisions, which, however, we expect will be remedied in a few days, when the army are tolerably settled, and our affairs put under some kind of regulation. Weather cold and showery. About two o'clock this afternoon three regiments, with some rangers and light infantry, were ordered to strike their tents, and be ready to march, at a moment's warning, under the command of Brigadier-General Townshend; and, in a short time after, the first brigade received the like orders, (the other corps, with their Commander, having been countermanded) also to be ready to march down to the water-side, embark, and cross the river. The Admiral being desirous

* This honest worthy fellow died long since in the West-Indies.—*Note by author.*

[1] The offending officer was in Kennedy's regiment, the 43rd. See Wolfe to Monckton, June 30 (*Letters in Possession of the Viscount Galway: Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 63).

1759. June. to work the Neptune, and some other ships, up into the bason, (where he may have a better view of the operations of the army, and, at the same time, be near at hand to distribute such orders to the fleet as he may see necessary) sent to the General to order a detachment of the army to take post on the Point of Levi, where, he apprehended, the enemy had a battery to defend the channel. This is the object in view, and is the reason of Brigadier Monckton's brigade being under orders to embark. At five o'clock we stood to our arms, and, by the time that the light infantry and rangers, and one regiment, had crossed over, and taken possession of the church of Beaumont on the south side of the river, the tide of ebb was so far exhausted, that the remainder were ordered to lie on our arms this [302] night, and to make fires to keep us warm; which was highly necessary, for it was excessively cold, having froze hard with the wind at north.

30th. The light troops, who crossed the river last night, had a successful skirmish early this morning with some of the enemy's colony troops, seven of whom were killed and scalped by our rangers, and five were made prisoners. Our loss amounted to two only, who were slightly wounded. Brigadier Monckton, with the remaining regiments of his brigade, were ferried over about seven o'clock, marched up to the church, and we lay on our arms for some time, until the light troops should return, who were upon a scout: there was no regular road up the hill, only a serpentine path with trees and underwood on every side of us, and upon the top of the precipice. This seems to be the case every-where; so that a few men, advantageously posted above, would probably have defeated the views of those who had crossed over, and landed yesterday.

"ORDERS.

"Island of Orleans, June the 30th.

"Brigadier Townshend's brigade and Anstruther's regi-
"ment to march to-morrow: Colonel Howe, with the light

JAMES WOLFE

From an engraving in the "Martial Register," possibly after a drawing by Captain John Montresor

" infantry of the whole line as now incamped, are to precede the 1759. June.
" march of the brigade, as directed yesterday, and at the same
" hour. Colonel Howe, in posting the necessary detachments
" on his march, will place the light infantry of Otway's and
" Lawrence's nearest their own camp; when Captain Hazen's
" company (who are to guard the cattle, as directed yesterday)
" pass the farthest of the posts given to the companies of
" Lawrence and Otway, those companies are to return to their
" own camp, drawing off the several detachments as they pass:
" Otway's and Lawrence's regiments are to hold themselves in
" readiness to imbark when ordered. Bragg's, Lascelles's, and
" Lawrence's regiments are to receive provisions this afternoon
" to the 4th of July."

While our Brigade halted at Beaumont, brigadier Monckton was pleased to order a manifesto in the French language to be fixed on the door of the church, of which the following is an exact translation:

'By his Excellency James Wolfe, Esq; Colonel of a
'Regiment of Infantry, Major-General and Com-
'mander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in
'the River St. Lawrence, &c. &c.

'The formidable sea and land armament, which the people
'of Canada * now behold in the heart of their country, is in-

* The etymologies given to the name of this country are various; that which Monsieur Hennepin[1] has transmitted to us in his History of Canada,—(and dedicated to William the Third, of immortal memory) seems to be the most natural. He says, the Spaniards, who were the first discoverers, expected to have found some valuable mines there, and, being disappointed, called that part of it, on which the upper town of Quebec is now partly situated,—*il capo-*

[1] Louis Hennepin, the Recollect missionary who accompanied La Salle to the Mississippi and, on returning to Europe, issued a mendacious account of his adventures in America, published two works dedicated to William III: *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays situé dans l'Amérique, entre Le Nouveau Mexique, et La Mer Glacial*, Utrecht, 1697; and *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*, Utrecht, 1698.

1759. June. 'tended by the King, my master, to check the insolence of 'France, to revenge the insults offered to the British colonies, 'and totally to deprive the French of their most valuable settle- 'ment in North America. For these purposes is the formidable 'army under my command intended.—The King of Great 'Britain wages no war with the industrious peasant, the sacred 'orders of religion, or the defenceless women and children: to 'these, in their distressful circumstances, his Royal clemency 'offers protection. The people may remain unmolested on 'their lands, inhabit their houses, and enjoy their religion in 'security; for these inestimable blessings, I expect the Canadians 'will take no part in the great contest between the two crowns. '—But if, by a vain obstinacy and misguided valour, they pre- 'sume to appear in [304] arms, they must expect the most fatal 'consequences; their habitations destroyed, their sacred temples 'exposed to an exasperated soldiery, their harvest utterly ruined, 'and the only passage for relief stopped up by a most formid- 'able fleet. In this unhappy situation, and closely attacked by 'another great army, what can the wretched natives expect 'from opposition?—The unparalleled barbarities exerted by the 'French against our settlements in America might justify the 'bitterest revenge in the army under my command.—*But 'Britons breathe higher sentiments of humanity, and listen to the 'merciful dictates of the Christian religion.* Yet, should you 'suffer yourselves to be deluded by any imaginary prospect of 'our want of success, should you refuse those terms, and 'persist in opposition, then surely will the law of nations justify 'the waste of war, so necessary to crush an ungenerous enemy;

di-nada, 'a cape of nothing, or barren cape:' whence, adds this writer, the name of Canada has been corrupted. Others say, that, upon the Spaniards' first landing, they were accosted by the natives with the words *hah-ca-nah-dah*, which implies—'there's nothing here.' It is not a matter of great consequence to us; but, I think, Dr. Douglas's definition of it, in his American History, is very absurd;—for he pretends that it derives its name from Monsieur Kane, or Cane, who he advances to have been the first adventurer in the river St. Lawrence.—*Note by author.*

'and then the miserable Canadians must in the winter have the 1759. June.
'mortification of seeing the very families, for whom they have
'been exerting but a fruitless and indiscreet bravery, perish
'by the most dismal want and famine. In this great dilemma
'let the wisdom of the people of Canada shew itself; Britain
'stretches out a powerful, yet merciful, hand: faithful to her
'engagements, and ready to secure her in her most valuable
'rights and possessions: France, unable to support Canada,
'deserts her cause at this important crisis, and, during the
'whole war, has assisted her with troops who have been main-
'tained only by making the natives feel all the weight of
'grievous and lawless oppression.——Given at Laurent in the
'island of Orleans, this 28th day of June, 1759.[1]

JA. WOLFE.'

After the skirmish was over this morning between our light troops and the enemy, the former, in the pursuit, apprehending that the peasants and colony troops might possibly return with a reinforcement, possessed themselves of a large farm-house, where they found a quantity of provisions and moveables, with a fire in the kitchen-chimney: from hence they intended to waylay the enemy, in case they should [305] return; but, hearing the voices of people talking, they searched the house, without however making any discovery; whereupon they resolved to set fire to it, and return to the church. After the flames began to spread with rapidity, they were alarmed with bitter shrieks and cries of women and

[1] On the previous day Wolfe had issued a longer and much more boastful proclamation. (See *Siege of Quebec*, vol. ii. pp. 67–70.) If he thought that the Canadians would heed the menacing invitation he gave them to remain neutral, he did not understand their character. It is probable that he did not feel the confidence he expressed in his manifesto, and that it was prepared for its moral effect and with a view to further operations. The people removed the notice from the church door, carried it to Vaudreuil, and paid no further heed to it. It is true that they were wretched and oppressed, but with all her faults France —*la belle France*—was firmly planted in their affections.

1759. June. children, who had foolishly concealed themselves among some lumber in a cellar. Our people very humanely exerted themselves for the relief of those miserable wretches, but their best endeavours were ineffectual; the house was burnt to the ground, and these unhappy people perished in the flames. *Such alas! are the direful effects of war.* About ten o'clock, the light troops being returned to Beaumont, the brigade stood to their arms, and marched immediately, leaving a detachment of one Major, two Captains, four Subalterns, and two hundred men, besides a Captain, Subaltern, and about forty light infantry (all of the 43d regiment) at the church, as a rear-guard, with orders to remain there until they should receive directions to follow. About an hour and an half after the brigade had marched off, the Brigadier sent back an Officer, Serjeant, and twelve men, with orders to us to move forward, and rejoin our corps. Upon standing to our arms, half a dozen straggling fellows appeared on an eminence to the southward of the church, at the distance of near three hundred yards: they were almost naked, with blankets about them. After viewing us for two or three minutes, they beckoned to us to advance; and we did the same to them with our hats: upon which they fired at us; but their shot was thrown away, having trundled along the ground at our feet: an Officer was advanced a little way with a white handkerchief on the point of a fixed bayonet, and waved his hat at them to come in; but, finding they only fought to amuse us, (for the rascals were well situated, having a stone-wall close behind them, with an opening in it, through which they could retire, in case we had marched up to them, and a thick coppice on their right) our Major gave orders to march. Our light infantry moved forward, and had not proceeded far, before a shot was fired, and was followed by a piteous groan. We immediately [306] pushed after them, on a supposition that they were attacked; but it proved an unfortunate mistake, for one of them, coming to the door of a house, saw a man climbing

into a back window, which he believing to be a Canadian, fired at him, and shot him through the body: the unhappy sufferer was one of his corporals. This disaster was attended with great trouble and delay to us, being obliged to take charge of the wounded man, and carry him along with us *. We marched through a fine cultivated country on a pleasant road, and, between five and six o'clock, joined the troops at Point Levi, where we found the enemy warmly disputing that ground with them; the principal skirmishing was in the skirts of some coppices, to the westward of the Point; a woody commanding rocky eminence to the southward, the church of St. Joseph, and the parsonage-house contiguous to it. The troops and the enemy were alternately in possession of these buildings; but at length the Brigadier ordered the Highlanders into the woods on the high ground, and the light troops to get round the hill and surround them, while he in person, at the head of the grenadiers, marched up and gallantly attacked the church and houses, which they once more gained possession of, after a stout resistance on the part of the enemy, who, finding themselves not able any longer to withstand our fire and numbers, at length gave way. This place is by nature very strong, and was exceedingly well defended; for, by all accounts, the enemy did not exceed a thousand men, who were partly inhabitants, six hundred colony troops, and about forty Indians; our loss in taking this ground was very inconsiderable, not amounting to more than thirty killed and wounded; what the enemy sustained I never could learn, for they always contrive to carry off their killed and disabled men on these occasions. The brigade occupied the houses and all the eminences round the Point; where,

1759. June.

* We fastened a blanket with skewers to two poles, and had him carried like a corpse by six men, whom we relieved every quarter of an hour; for our poor fellows, by some mistake, were otherwise heavily laden with their own necessaries, camp-equipage, intrenching-tools, provisions, &c. &c. &c.—*Note by author.*

1759. June. I must not omit to [307] observe, we found neither batteries *, nor any kind of works, as had at first been apprehended. At ten o'clock this night, Colonel Burton, with a detachment of the regiment under his command, joined us from Orleans.

July. 1st. At nine o'clock this morning the enemy sent down three floating batteries (one mounted two guns, the other one each) in order to dislodge us; for this purpose, last night, they quietly, and undiscovered by our fleet's boats, anchored a canoe in the bason, at a certain distance, the better to remark our situation, and the particular houses and other posts which they saw us occupy. Whereupon, apprehending that a body of troops might rush down the hill, and attack us, while under a supposed consternation, by their floats, we were ordered to stand to our arms, and an advantageous disposition was made of the brigade, leaving, however, proper detachments in the church and other houses, as also on the skirts of the coppices; and the light troops occupied the top of the eminence which commanded the Point, and formed a chain from Nadau's great water-mill, on the east, to the Priest's, and other houses, that stood detached from the church, westward. In this situation they cannonaded us near an hour and a half, when the Admiral, lamenting our disagreeable circumstances, threw out a signal for the Trent frigate, who lost no time in coming to our relief; and, the [308] tide of flood then fortunately favouring us, she soon worked up, gave the enemy a few

* January 19, 1760. We were this day informed at dinner, by the late Fort-Major and some other French gentlemen, that Monsieur Montcalm foresaw the great advantages that would result to us over their capital, in being possessed of Point Levi; and proposed, before we came up the river, that four thousand men should be strongly intrenched here with some ordnance, and that other works should also be constructed higher up the country, at certain distances, for the troops to retire to, in case their lines should be carried at the Point. But Monsieur Vaudreuil over-ruled this motion, in a council of war; and insisted, that, though we might demolish a few insignificant houses with shells, we could not bring cannon to bear upon Quebec, a-cross the river; and it was his firm opinion, that it was their duty to stand upon the defensive with their whole army on the north side of the bason, and not divide their force on any account whatsoever.—*Note by author.*

broad sides, and obliged them to sheer off: General Wolfe also, with the greatest expedition, came to our assistance, and brought a detachment of the train, with some guns and carriages; he immediately ordered out a number of workmen from each regiment, and erected a barbet battery close by the shore, to prevent any farther annoyance to us from the river; and, at the same time, the Trent and other frigates anchored off the Point, and some others of our fleet worked higher up, by which good conduct of our naval friends, we were no longer apprehensive of any insult from the floating batteries of the enemy, whose guns were well served, and by their grape-shot we lost several men; but, had not our Brigadier judiciously ordered the troops to lie down, after we were formed, our loss would probably have been very considerable.[1] The General, now seeing the necessity of remaining in possession of this ground, and as if apprised of the good consequences that would thereby result to his future operations, resolved to maintain it; for this purpose, we were ordered to incamp, and immediately set about intrenching ourselves, insomuch that, before night, we were in a tolerable state of security. Some batteries on the north shore, which the enemy opened on our ships (though beyond their reach) when they were turning up to our relief, this morning, plainly pointed out to the General the necessity of possessing, in like manner, the west end of the island of Orleans, as thereby the fleet could be better inabled, with security, to co-operate with the army; and accordingly orders were dispatched to Brigadier Townshend to detach a party for this purpose, which was executed, without loss of time, under the direction of Colonel Carleton: a good battery was instantly marked out there, and redoubts were

1759. July.

[1] "July 1. At one in the morning heard a great firing, thought at first it was an attack on B. Monckton, but it was above the town, imagine it some new Indians had joined the French. I went up to Point Levy early, found things in an odd state, at 11, 5 boats and 3 radeaux came opposite Point Levy, fired at our camp and we simple enough to turn out the whole detachment, by which we lost 7 or 8 men."—*Bell's Journal.*

1759. July. begun to be thrown up, for the safety of the troops who were to cover it. Some buccaneer firelocks, of an uncommon length, were found by our men to-day, buried in an or- [309] chard adjoining to the great water-mill; upon examining them, they were loaded with two balls each, besides a piece of square iron, four inches long, the edge of which were wickedly filed rough, like the teeth of a saw. From this ground we have a full view of the enemy in their camp, on the opposite side of the bason; their right extends above the town, with the river Charles in their front, where they have got the hulks of two frigates advantageously posted, for the defence of that rivulet; and their left is close by the fall of Montmorency. Their situation appears to be very strong by nature; and I can discern, by the help of my telescope, that they are numerous, and, as if jealous of an attempt by us on that quarter, they are fortifying themselves in every part; the rear of their left seems to be covered with thick woods, and, throughout their camp, there are a continued chain of houses, the windows of which is logged up for the service of musketry.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Orleans, July 1.

"Lawrence's battalion to hold themselves in readiness to "embark at a moment's warning. Lawrence's battalion to "strike their tents, pack up their baggage, and march down to "the water-side opposite to the church, so as to be there at "half an hour after five to-morrow morning; the light in- "fantry of that corps are not to embark, but remain with "Otway's regiment."

At three o'clock this afternoon, we were alarmed by a smart firing of musketry in the woods, and the troops stood to their arms; this was occasioned by a party of Indians coming down to annoy our camp, for whom Captain Goreham, and

his rangers, laid an ambush, and scalped nine of them. Two twenty-four pounders and two twelves are mounted on our barbet battery. Major Scott, with a large corps of rangers, are arrived this evening from Orleans; by whom we learn, that thirty of the enemy have been [310] killed and taken on that island, and that two grenadiers of the Louisbourg division were found scalped in the skirts of the woods. It is expected the enemy will attempt to surprise us this night; nevertheless we are landing heavy artillery and stores with great diligence. 1759. July.

The brigade alarmed at two o'clock this morning, by some popping shots in the woods, above South-hill; stood to their arms until it was broad day-light. We are finishing our intrenchments, and parties are out cutting and making fascines. Colonel Carleton is forwarding his works, on the west of Orleans, with great diligence. At one o'clock were alarmed again by several floating batteries coming down the river; but, seeing our frigates preparing to engage them, they edged over to the north shore. The 48th regiment, with the grenadiers and light troops of this brigade, under the command of Colonel Burton, marched up the country, as an escort to General Wolfe, who went to reconnoitre the town, from the heights to the southward of it; the light infantry, who preceded their march, were fired upon by some straggling peasants, at a distance; the General made choice of a piece of ground, about one mile and an half from our camp, whereon to erect batteries against Quebec; the garrison fired several guns at the detachment, but their shot either fell short of, or passed over them.[1] In 2d.

[1] Under date of July 2 Bell writes: "The General went to P. Levy, and marched with the Light Infantry and a Detachment under Coll. Burton to the Westward till we came opposite to Quebeck saw 4 battalions [? batteries] in the lower town, 1 of 5, 1 of 8, 1 of 9, and 1 of 4, a few houses uncovered and all the doors and windows taken away of the Basseville. Their Radeaux fired at us as well as the Barbet battalion.

"They also favoured us with some shells, by which we knew how well we could return the compliment upon the town some time hence, the General fixed upon a place for a redoubt and for gun and mortar batterys, which were begun immediately."

1759. July. their return to camp, by a different route, they found the bodies of four grenadiers, who were killed on the 30th ultimo, and were most barbarously butchered;—the General ordered them to be interred.

Major Scott, with some companies of rangers, marched up the country this morning, as far as the river Chaudiere, to try to take a prisoner, and reconnoitre that river, the enemy being supposed to have some vessels there; they were not able to make any discoveries, except spying a body of Indians on the opposite side of that river; and the Major made several attempts to cross over and rout them, but found it impracticable, from the great depth of water [311] and rapidity of the current; at the return of the rangers to camp, the General expressed a disappointment at not getting a prisoner, for intelligence. The Admiral sent a boat towards the north shore, and another towards the town, to sound; the garrison fired at them, as did some floating batteries under Beauport. Some ships are arrived from Boston, with large boats and provisions for the army. I can perceive in the enemy's camp, at least, five coloured coats for one French uniform, whence, it is manifest, their army consists chiefly of the militia of the country, and other peasants. We have now got three redoubts in our incampment; the Brigadier's tent is in the center of the largest, where there are four brass six-pounders mounted. Our camp forms an half-moon round the Point, and has now assumed a respectable appearance; we are ordered to intrench the eastern flank of it, which is in the rear of the 43d regiment. The Officers were all served this day with fresh provisions for the first time:—the weather is gloomy and cold, and inclining to rain.

The 35th regiment, and the detachments now in camp, on the island of Orleans, are ordered to be ready to march at a moment's warning.

3d. Working parties went out this morning to make fascines; they were obliged to quit, about eight o'clock, by a violent

storm of rain, which continued, without intermission, until night. The grenadiers and light infantry are ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning; the seamen are landing mortars and battering cannon, with stores of all kinds. 1759. July.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Orleans, July 3.

"The regiments and corps will receive provisions to-morrow "to the 8th inclusive: Otway's, Anstruther's, three companies "of grenadiers, rangers, artillery, and carpenters, at six in the "morning; Bragg's, Monckton's, and Lascelles's, at four in "the [312] afternoon. Three Captains, seven Subalterns, and "three hundred and fifty men, to parade to-morrow morning "at four o'clock in the rear of Bragg's, for the service of the "Engineers; the grenadiers are to parade at the same time."

A Captain's guard mounted to-day on the top of Wood- 4th. hill, to the southward of our camp, where there is a kind of natural redoubt, to which the rangers have made some additional breast-works by the help of stones and felled trees; this is to be known hereafter by the name of the Great Rock-Guard.[1] The Officers have not yet been able to get their tents on shore; at present they are obliged to lie in those of the men. We are landing more artillery and stores. The fleet are worked up a little higher, and make a delightful appearance in the river. At noon we had a dreadful thunder-storm, succeeded by violent rain and hail, which lasted near six hours; the lightning exceeded anything I ever saw. In the afternoon

[1] This was at Point Levy, on the high ground to the south of the Beaumont road. Brigadier Monckton's camp was between the road and the river, while the outpost extended on the west to the river Etchemin. The principal batteries which were employed for the destruction of the town were at Pointe des Pères immediately opposite the city of Quebec. The 15th, 43rd, 48th, 78th, and Royal Regiment of Artillery were stationed at Point Levy.

1759. July. a boat went up with a flag of truce *, from the Admiral: when she got within gun-shot, another was sent from the garrison to receive her errand, and she was immediately sent back again. In the evening a French flag came down, and, the Trent hoisting a white jack on her bow, the Officer went on board of her. The enemy appear to be indefatigable at their intrenchments, particularly at the left of their camp, above the Point de Lest†;[1] whence I conjecture that part to be the most accessible, and am confirmed in this opinion by an observation, viz. when the tide is about half ebb, there are banks and shoals that run out to a great length into the bason, along the front of their camp, from the center upwards, which are then visible: but there do not appear any obstructions immediately off the Point.

[313] "ORDERS.

"Camp at the island of Orleans.

5th. "Brigadier-General Townshend's brigade to be ready to "embark at a very short warning; they must leave their tents "standing, and proper guards to take care of them. The line "is never to turn out but when expressly ordered. The quarter, "and other guards, and out-posts, to turn out to the Com- "mander in Chief only with shouldered arms, and but once "a day; they are to pay the usual compliments to the Brigadier- "Generals. Monthly returns, to the 24th of June, to be sent "in to the Adjutant-General, as soon as possible. Magazine

* The enemy's jack on the bow of the boat, and British colours a-stern; and, *vice versa*, from them to us.—*Note by author.*

† Boats usually took in ballast from thence, therefore called Point de Lest. —*Note by author.*

[1] Pointe à Lessay. Montcalm, in his letters to the Chevalier de Lévis, writes this word in four different ways: Pointe du Lessey, Pointe de Luisse, Pointe Lessé, and Pointe de Lesse. Pointe à Lessay is on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, almost opposite the Point of Orleans. Knox was encamped at Point Levy, within sight of Pointe à Lessay. The tradition is that the place was named L'Essay from the attempt made by Phipps to land at this point in the year 1690.

" and cattle guards as usual.—The object of the campaign is to 1759. July.
" complete the conquest of Canada, and to finish the war in
" America. The army under the Commander in Chief will
" enter the colony on the side of Montreal, while the fleet and
" army here attack the Governor-General and his forces. Great
" sufficiency of provisions, and a numerous artillery is provided:
" from the known valour of the troops, the nation expects
" success. These battalions have acquired reputation in the last
" campaign, and it is not doubted but they will be careful to
" preserve it: from this confidence, the General has assured the
" Secretary of State in his letters, that, whatever may be the
" event of the campaign, his Majesty, and the country, will
" have reason to be satisfied with the behaviour of the army
" under his command. The General means to carry the busi-
" ness through, with as little loss as possible, and with the
" highest regard to the preservation of the troops; to that
" end he expects, that the men work chearfully, and without
" the least unsoldierlike manner or complaint; and that his
" few, but necessary orders be strictly obeyed: the General
" proposes to fortify his camp, in such a manner, as to put
" it out of the power of the enemy to attempt any thing
" by surprise, and that the troops may rest in security after
" their fatigues.—As the safety of the army depends, [313]
" in a great measure, upon the vigilance of the out-guards, *any*
" *Officer, or Non-commissioned Officer, who shall suffer himself to be*
" *surprised by the enemy, must not expect to be forgiven.*[1] When
" any alarm is given, or the enemy perceived to be in motion,

[1] These orders seem to have been issued as a result of the visit of General Wolfe to the camp at Lévis on July 1 and 2. Wolfe says: " 1st July, visited Brig. Monckton's post, was surprized to see the men exposed to the artillery of 4 contemptible Boats & a notion in that army of an Indian attack & landing. Amazg Ignorance in the construction of the Redoubts. Directed some new works."

Under date of the 3rd, Wolfe writes: " Consultation with the Admiral about landing—our notions agreeing to get ashoar if possible above the Town. We determined to attempt it. Troops & ships prepared accordingly. . . . Resolution to begin with a warm Bombardment from Point aux Pères."

1759. July. "and that it may be thought necessary to put the troops under "arms, it is to be done without noise or confusion; the brigades "are to be ranged in order of battle, by their Brigadier-"Generals, at the head of the camp, in readiness to obey the "orders they shall receive. *False alarms are hurtful in an army,* "*and dishonourable to those that occasion them:* the out-posts are to "be sure that the enemy are in motion, before they send their "intelligence. Soldiers are not to go beyond the out-guards; "the advanced centries will fire at all who attempt to pass "beyond the proper bounds: It may be proper to apprise the "corps, that the General may perhaps think it necessary to order "some of the light troops to retire before the enemy at times, "so as to draw them nearer to the army, with a view either to "engage them to fight at a disadvantage, or to cut off their "retreat. The light infantry of the army are to have their "bayonets, as the want of ammunition may sometimes be "supplied with that weapon: and, because no man should leave "his post, under pretence that all his cartridges are fired, *in* "*most attacks by night, it must be remembered, that bayonets are* "*preferable to fire.* That the service of the campaign may fall "as equally as possible upon the whole, the corps will do duty "for their real strength; no change shall be made in the first "regulation, unless any particular loss should make it necessary. "All cattle, or provisions, taken by any detachment of the "army are to be delivered into the picquet magazine, for the use "and benefit of the whole: Mr. Wire the Commissary will give "receipts for them. No churches, houses, or buildings of any "kind, are to be burned or destroyed without orders: *the persons* "*that remain in their habitations, their women and children, are to* "*be treated with humanity; if any violence is offered to a woman,* "*the offender shall* [315] *be punished with death.* If any persons "are detected robbing the tents of the Officers or soldiers, they "will be, if condemned, certainly executed. The Commanders "of regiments are to be answerable, that no rum, or spirits of "any kind, be sold in or near the camp. When the soldiers are

" fatigued with work, or wet upon duty, the General will order 1759. July.
" such refreshment as he knows will be of service to them, but
" is determined to allow no drunkenness, nor licentiousness,[1] in
" the army. If any Sutler has the presumption to bring rum on
" shore, in contempt of the General's regulations, such Sutler
" shall be sent to the Provost's in irons, and his goods con-
" fiscated. The General will make it his business, as far as he
" is able, to reward such as shall particularly distinguish them-
" selves; and, on the other hand, will punish any misbehaviour
" in an exemplary manner. The Brigadiers-General are desired
" to inform themselves, if the orders and regulations are pro-
" perly made known to the soldiers of their respective
" brigades."

The forty-eighth regiment, and all the grenadiers, rangers, and light infantry, with working parties from the other corps, marched up to the place where our batteries are to be erected, and broke ground; the 48th are intrenching themselves on a convenient spot, at half the distance, in order to preserve the communication between our camp and the batteries. The rangers took post on all the adjoining hills, which command the road to the batteries, and the circumjacent country, for a great extent; dividing themselves into small parties, with breast-works about them of stone, timber, &c. the workmen and grenadiers returned to camp in the evening. Great rejoicings * were observed in the enemy's camp to-day, which [316] we suppose to be the result of policy. A flag of truce[2]

[1] Under date of June 30, Wolfe writes in his *Journal:* "Some granadiers who were sent to escort the Engineers, misbehaved."

* Upon inquiry at Quebec, afterwards, into this matter, I was informed that it was nothing more than M. de Montcalm exercising his army, who, upon the ringing of a bell in the steeple of Beauport church, ran out of their tents and formed: and, upon a repetition of that signal, pushed down with a great shout to their breast-works next the river, and fired over them; which was several times repeated, in order to shew them how they must defend themselves when attacked.—*Note by author.*

[2] On the evening of July 3, the *Richmond* frigate, Captain Hankerson, anchored at the Point of Orleans with a French sloop that had been captured

1759. July. was sent up to town, said to relate to some female and other captives; our bomb-ships are edging over towards the north shore, where the enemy have a number of floating batteries, to cover some detached works which they are now erecting upon the beach of the Point de Lest, westward of the cataract.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Orleans.

6th. "Serjeant Prentice, of Kennedy's regiment, is appointed "Provost-Marshal to the army in the river St. Lawrence, and is "to be obeyed as such. Whenever any body of troops marches "from this camp, no women are to go with them, or follow, "till farther orders; they will be subsisted here. No women

by one of the British vessels several months before at or near Miramichi. On board the sloop were about 25 Acadian women and several women of rank, including Madame Pomeray, the wife of a French officer, Madame St. Villemin, Madame Beaumont, and others. Possibly also on board was Mademoiselle Le Bruya, "a good jolie fille enough," whom Captain Bell mentions as being among the captives taken on an expedition near Miramichi.

Madame Pomeray and the other ladies were returned by the General to their homes, but it appears that the Acadians were willing to place themselves under the protection of the Governor of Quebec. On July 4, Isaac Barré, Adjutant-General, was sent in a boat from the *Trent* under a flag of truce, to ascertain whether the Marquis de Vaudreuil would receive the Acadian ladies and at the same time to demand the restoration of three men of Admiral Durell's division, who had been taken prisoners at Ile aux Coudres. The French were suspicious of the flag of truce, and when the boat was within gunshot a vessel was sent from the garrison to ask her errand. In the evening a boat came down the river, carrying the British flag in the bow and the French colours astern. A white flag was then hoisted on the bow of the *Trent* and a French officer, the Chevalier Le Mercier, came on board. He delivered a polite message from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, thanking the Admiral for his courteous treatment of the women, and added that when the British fleet and army had finished gasconading in French territory, the men belonging to the fleet under the command of Admiral Durell would be liberated, and that in the meantime they would be treated with due respect. This was the first exchange of a flag of truce between the two armies. On the 5th the women were returned to the town. All the sloops and schooners were brought up to Lévis and Orleans.

"are to be allowed to suttle in camp without proper authority, 1759. July.
"on pain of being struck off the provision-roll: all orders
"relating to the women are to be read to them by the Serjeants
"of their respective companies, that they may not plead
"ignorance."

We now fire an evening gun, from our Barbet-battery; the troops on Orleans do the same, and the enemy are so polite as to follow our example. The Leostoff's cutter was taken to-day, when she was sounding.[1] The enemy seem to vie with us, in putting our respective camps in the best posture of defence. The 48th regiment have secured themselves at their new post, within an excellent redoubt; and working parties are diligently employed in erecting batteries against the town: the eminence, made choice of for this purpose, projects into the river, from sixteen to eighteen hundred yards distance, which, with Cape Diamond, form the straits* of [317] Quebec. Mortars, guns, shells, shot, and all manner of artillery stores, are landing at every tide. A brisk cannonading, at six o'clock this evening, between our frigates and the enemy's floating batteries; they continued for an hour and a-half, but no damage was done on either side: the floats were obliged to put back to the town; their views were to edge down towards the Point de Lest, as if jealous of an attempt being made on that quarter. The light infantry, commanded by Major Dalling, are under orders of readiness to march this night. Weather extremely sultry.

[1] "They manned from Beauport 4 canoes with Indians, who pursued our boat, which made immediately to the Orleans shore, they landed from the canoes and pursued the seamen, took one, were driven back by some people from the camp, and lost 3 men. . . . the shipping with us insulted every day and boats taken, yet no means thought of to prevent it."—*Bell's Journal*, July 6 and 7.

* We are informed by French writers, that in the old Indian or Algonquin language *Kebèis* or *Quèbèis* implies a strait, whence the capital derives its name.—*Note by author.*

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Orleans.

1759. July. 7th. "Bragg's, Lascelles's, Monckton's, the light infantry, and "rangers, with the three companies of grenadiers, are to hold "themselves in readiness to march to-morrow morning at ten "o'clock; these corps are to receive three days' provisions "immediately, and are to take half their tents with them, when "they move from this camp, to the water-side. Those who "are not yet provided with four days' provisions are im- "mediately to get them. Three hundred men to parade "to-morrow morning for the Engineers, at four o'clock."

The troops at Point Levi are under orders to march on the shortest notice; those on the island of Orleans, it is said, will remove suddenly to some other ground in the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp, leaving a detachment behind, for the protection of the battery, store-houses, and other works on that island. The enemy are making many marches, and countermarches, in that part of their camp nearest to the cataract. Some of our fleet are drawing over towards the north shore. We have now got a park of artillery and stores adjoining to our camp, and the detachments of that corps are also incamped here; the heaviest guns on shore are thirty-two pounders, and the largest mortars are thirteen inches. [318] Soon after the light infantry marched last night,[1] some firing was

[1] General Wolfe, under date of the 6th, writes: "A large Detachment of Rangers & light Infantry sent out to scour the country."

Captain Bell on the 7th wrote: "Mr. Scott came back with his Rangers (he set out last night for la Chaudienne) to Lévy, having seen some Indians he called a Council of Peace and it was judged whole bones were best."

From the tone of the entry in General Wolfe's *Journal* on the 7th it is evident that he was not pleased with the expedition of the Rangers under Major Scott. ". . . Major Scott returned without seeing the Etchemins River and la Chaudière, some skattering shott from the woods, and the sight of a few Indians determined him to retire."

Whether the General was in a querulous mood on this day or not we have

heard; it is conjectured they are gone in pursuit of Monsieur Bois Hibert, and his Mic-Macks, with other rabble, from Nova Scotia, who are said to be sculking in this neighbourhood. The other corps of light infantry are to cross the river this night to Orleans. A deserter, from the French regulars, surrendered to us this day; it is suspected, by his extravagant intelligence, that he left the French army by consent, for he was uncommonly communicative; he said, 'that General 'Amherst has been defeated with immense loss, and that the 'French army on the opposite side of the river amount to 'eighteen thousand effective men, ten thousand of whom are 'of the best troops of France;' with many other inconsistent circumstances. This fellow, to his great mortification, was instantly sent on board of the Admiral, which will defeat any hopes, that he may have formed, of returning to his army. 1759. July.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Orleans.

"As the ships that were to cover the landing cannot fall "down to their proper stations this day, the troops are not to "embark, but are to hold themselves in readiness."[1] 8th.

"Brigadier-General TOWNSHEND'S ORDERS.

"The brigade of Bragg's, Lascelles's, and Monckton's, the "three companies of grenadiers, and the light infantry, are to "strike in the rear half their streets of tents before eight "o'clock, and be ready to march precisely by eight.

no means of determining; but we find this significant note in his *Journal*: "Some difference in opinion upon a military point, termed slight & insignificant & the Comdr-in-Chief is threatened with parliamentry Enquiry into his Conduct for not consulting an inferior officer & seeming to disregard his sentiments."

[1] Orders were given on the 8th for a landing at Montmorency. The *Porcupine* sloop, Captain Jarvis, was sent to the Falls to cover the landing, while the *Sutherland* and the bombships went up to Beauport, opposite the east camp of the French.

1759. July. "ORDERS of march for the troops that are to embark:

"Light infantry, ... 1st.
"Grenadiers of the first brigade, ... 2d.
"Grenadiers of Louisbourg, ... 3d.
"Grenadiers of Brigadier Townshend's brigade, . 4th.
"[321] Bragg's regiment, ... 5th.
"Monckton's battalion, ... 6th.
"Lascelles's regiment, ... 7th.

"All these corps are to be told off in detachments of sixty "men, the whole to march to the right by files."

"Brigadier-General MURRAY'S ORDERS.

"Otway's and Anstruther's to be ready to march at nine "o'clock this night; a Subaltern and thirty of Otway's, and a "Subaltern and twenty men of Anstruther's, to be left to guard "their incampment. The guard of Otway's will strike the "tents of that regiment before day-break, and remain out of "sight of the enemy; they are afterwards to incamp on the "right of Anstruther's; the 58th regiment will leave their tents "standing. The detachment under the command of Major "Hardy *, are to relieve the magazine guard immediately; that "detachment is to relieve the General's guard likewise, with a "Serjeant and twelve men. The out-posts are to consist of no "more than a Subaltern and twenty men each; the surplus are "instantly to join their regiments."

"ORDERS of MARCH.

"Otway's and Anstruther's to march to the right by files; "the whole to be told off in divisions of sixty men each, with "Officers in proportion, as a boat will contain no more; but,

* This detachment consisted of four companies of the 62d regiment, who had been sent out with the fleet to serve as marines, and were landed on the island of Orleans, where they remained to keep that post.—*Note by author.*

" when they form on the other side, they will draw up in the 1759. July.
" usual order of battle. As there are some Indians now lurk-
" ing on the island, no soldier is, therefore, to strole from the
" incampment of the regiment, on pain of severe punishment."

(After Orders.)

" It is Brigadier-General Murray's orders, that Otway's and
" Anstruther's strike their tents, pack up their baggage, and are
" [320] under arms ready to march, by two o'clock in the
" morning; they are to carry their camp-equipage and four
" days' provisions. An Officer, and twenty men of each regi-
" ment, are to be left to take care of the baggage of each corps;
" these Officers will apply to Captain Leslie for a conveyance;
" in the mean time they will get their baggage lodged within
" Major Hardy's centries, that they may be secure and ready for
" embarkation. The out-posts are instantly to be drawn off.
" Captain Hazen's rangers are likewise to march at the same
" hour, and to parade on the right of Otway's. The third part
" of Anstruther's and Otway's to parade in the front of the
" 58th, and to march to the water-side, to draw three howitzers
" to the Artillery-park, and provisions when the Commissary
" will direct them; this party will parade at day-break. The
" five regiments are each to chuse out five of their most expert
" fascine-layers for batteries; these men are to parade, at the
" head of their respective detachments, for work to-morrow at
" day-break; Otway's and Anstruther's give a Serjeant each
" for these men: they are to receive their orders from the
" Engineers, and are to be paid. Whenever a detachment
" has intirely finished the work they are sent upon, such as
" landing and carrying up cannon, stores, provisions, or am-
" munition: the Officer commanding is to report it at the
" head-quarters, that his men may be properly employed for
" the remainder of his time, or that the relieving detachment
" may be directed where they are to work."

We have converted the church of St. Joseph into an

1759. July. hospital, and are now fortifying it for that purpose; at twelve o'clock a smart cannonading between our frigates and the enemy's floating batteries, under the left of their incampment; our bomb-ketches fired several shells, at the same time, into their camp, some of which, by bursting in the air over their heads, threw them into confusion, and made them run different ways for shelter. At two [321] o'clock the garrison (as if by way of reprisal) vigorously bombarded Burton's Redoubt *[1], and cannonaded our workmen at the batteries very briskly, but without any success; General Wolfe was there at the same time,[2] and shewed great attention to the preservation of the men, by ordering them to lie down, or get under cover, as soon as a flash was first perceived †: the enemy continued their fire until late in the evening.

The works are now completed on the west of Orleans; storehouses are erected, and hospitals[3] for the use of the fleet and army; that post is rendered very defensible. Brigadier Townshend, with the troops we left on that island, embarked in boats this evening, in order to land on the north side, eastward of Montmorency; our frigates still continue to annoy the floating batteries and detached works on the beach, while our bomb-ketches harrass the enemy in the left of their camp.

* The 48th regiment, commanded by Colonel Burton, are incamped in that intrenchment: whence it is called Burton's Redoubt.—*Note by author.*

[1] Burton's Redoubt was on an eminence immediately in the rear of Pointe des Pères, opposite Quebec, where were placed the bomb batteries for six-inch and thirteen-inch howitzers.

[2] "Warm fire of the Enemy upon the workmen—Disposition of the frigates and Bomb ketches, their prodigious distance from the Enemy—amazing backwardness in these matters on the side of the fleet."—*Wolfe's Journal*, July 8.

† It is easy to distinguish between the flash of a mortar, and that of a gun, the former being much larger than the other; on occasions of either, the usual signals are, *Shell* or *Shot*, and are generally given by the Engineer on that service, or by a centinel, appointed to watch the enemy's batteries.—*Note by author.*

[3] The hospital at Orleans was on the West Point, close to the road leading to St. Pierre.

Two thirteen-inch mortars and some cannon were drawn up this day to Burton's Redoubt: it blew fresh towards night, with a dropping rain; the marines have hitherto lain on board their ships; the first detachment of that corps landed this evening on Point Levi. 1759. July.

In order to facilitate the landing of the forces, under General Wolfe, on the north side of the river, to the eastward of the water-fall, our brigade struck their camp, between one and two o'clock this morning, with the greatest quietness, marched a little way up the country, and concealed ourselves in the woods; a few detachments only remained in the houses and redoubts, and the working-parties, being out of view of the enemy, were not called in. Between six and seven our frigates and bomb-ketches began to play [322] upon the enemy's camp, which obliged them to strike their tents, and retire more to their rear; that ground is not only out of reach of our ship's guns, but, by its elevated situation, bids defiance to any annoyance from the river: by this removal, their left appears to extend nearer to the river of Montmorency than before, whence they may probably be routed again, as soon as our troops are landed, and artillery can be brought up. Some rain fell this morning, it cleared up at ten o'clock, and we had fine weather for the remainder of the day, which favoured the General's operations on the north shore. Captain Starks, of the rangers, sent his Lieutenant, and twenty men, on a scout to the southward, yesterday; they returned to-day, and brought in two prisoners; one of them was a lad of fifteen years of age, the other a man of forty, who was very sullen, and would not answer any questions: this Officer also took two male children, and, as he and his party were returning, they saw themselves closely pursued by a much superior body, some of whom were Indians; he wished to be freed from the children, as, by their innocent cries and screeches, they directed the pursuers where to follow. The Lieutenant made many signs to them to 9th.

1759. July. go away and leave him, but they, not understanding him, still redoubled their lamentations; and, finding himself hard pressed, he gave orders that the infants should be taken aside and killed; which was done,[1] though the Officer declared to me that it was with the greatest reluctance that can be conceived. As these prisoners were brought to the post where I was on duty, with the Ranging-Captain, I conversed with the lad for some time; he told me, that Monsieur de Montcalm had a large army; but added he, very sensibly, 'I cannot tell 'you any particulars, being too young to be a judge of these 'matters: this I know, that we are all in great distress for 'bread, both army, garrison and country; and Monsieur Bois 'Hibert, with a good corps of Acadians and savages, are in this 'neighbourhood, &c.'—About one o'clock[2] in the afternoon the troops under General Wolfe landed on the north side of the [323] river to the eastward of the cataract, and incamped

[1] "A party of our Rangers having been sent out on this side of the river, (the south) on the 9th they took one man prisoner and two boys (his children) having followed him a little way, making a great noise, were in a most inhuman manner murdered by those worse than savage Rangers, for fear, as they pretend, they should be discovered by the noise of the children. I wish this story was not fact, but I'm afraid there is little reason to doubt it:—the wretches having boasted of it on their return, tho' they now pretend to vindicate themselves by the necessity they were under; but, I believe, this barbarous action proceeded from that cowardice and barbarity which seems so natural to a native of America, whether of Indian or European extraction. In other instances, those Rangers have hitherto been of some use, and shewed in general a better spirit than usual. They are for most part raised in New England."—*Fraser's Journal: Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents* (Second Series).

[2] Under date of the 8th, General Wolfe says: "At night the Brigade embarked with 10 Comp of Granadrs & landed without any opposition."

Captain Bell, under date of the 9th, says: "At one in the morning General Wolfe with the Granadiers . . . landed about ¾ of mile below the fall . . . got up the Hill 6, 6-Pounders." It would appear, therefore, that Wolfe landed in the morning and not in the afternoon as stated by the author.

Wolfe's camp at Montmorency was about half a mile to the east of the Fall on the south side of the road. He made his headquarters in a typical French Canadian house, which is still standing. At a short distance from this house Townshend's camp at Montmorency may still be traced with the aid of the plan of the camp made in 1759.

WOLFE'S HOUSE AT MONTMORENCY

From an illustration, published in "Quebec Under Two Flags"

without opposition*; they had six brass six-pounders with them, and some howitzers. The rangers were soon after detached into the woods to cover some fascine-makers, and, being fired upon by a body of Indians, a smart skirmish ensued; but the rangers were reinforced by the picquets and two field-pieces, which raked the rascals, and drove them back to their own camp:—there were many killed and wounded on both sides,[1] which fell mostly on Captain Danks and his company of rangers. Major Dalling's light infantry returned this afternoon; they were well loaded with plunder of various kinds. Our brigade were ordered back to our camp in the evening, and pitched our tents again; some companies of marines landed to-day from the fleet; that corps are incamped on the left of the 43d regiment, and are to do duty in the line. 1759. July.

Being on a working-party this morning at our batteries, I had a most agreeable prospect of the city of Quebec, for the first time;[2] it is a very fair object for our artillery, particularly 10th.

* When the enemy saw our army thus subdivided, and occupying three distinct camps, the chief gentlemen of the country made application to Monsieur Vaudreuil to detach a strong body of Canadians, under experienced Officers, over the river, and rout our troops from Point Levi; but the Governor-General, from a contemptible opinion he had of their prowess, refused, telling them it was his and their duty to act on the defensive. Monsieur Montcalm (say the Officers of the regulars) was strongly prepossessed with the same sentiments of his Canadian forces.—*Note by author.*

[1] Wolfe evidently admired the tactics of the Indians. Referring to this event, he says: "Dank's Rangers attacked by a Body of Indians & defeated, the Indians repulsed by the Grandrs of Bragg's Regt. & pursued by Howe, some killed & wounded, 13 of Dank's killed & 7 or 8 wounded. Admirable management of those savages in their Retreat, favoured by the fire of the rest from the Bank of the River."—*Journal.*

[2] Brigadier Murray, who had been left at the island of Orleans, joined Wolfe on this day with two battalions. The British batteries which had been thrown up on the eastern side of the Falls to annoy the extreme east of Montcalm's camp, were rendered ineffective by the removal of the camp. "Nevertheless it is to be hoped that our Engineers will use their utmost endeavours to reconnoitre their situation and erect on some advantageous ground another for their amusement." The Marquis de Montcalm seems to have thought that the amusement was confined to the British side. When

1759. July. the lower town, whose buildings are closer, and more compact than the upper. Some time after we were settled at work, a soldier of the 48th regiment, who had an intention to desert, went to an adjoining wood, where an Officer and a number of men were detached to make fascines; he told the Officer he was sent to desire that he and his party would return to the redoubt where we were employed, and in their absence he took an old canoe that he found on the shore, and crossed the river in our view; a boat put off from the enemy, and took him safe to land. Our batteries are in great [324] forwardness; the two first are to mount six guns and five mortars, and will, in a few days, be in readiness to open. About six o'clock the garrison began to cannonade and bombard us, and continued their fire, almost without intermission, until one o'clock in the afternoon, at which time the working-parties were relieved. Our soldiers told me they numbered one hundred and twenty-two shot and twenty-seven shells, yet we had not a man killed or wounded. Before we reached our camp, we had a violent thunder-storm attended with hail and rain, which laid our incampment under water:—the hail-stones were uncommonly large; on this occasion the men were served with rum, pursuant to the General's regulations.

Dalling's light infantry are ordered on duty this night at the batteries, and the redoubt adjoining to them. The enemy have brought down a mortar or two to the left of their intrenchments, from which they discharged several shells at our ships, though without any effect.

11th. The enemy, apprehending that we would endeavour to make up last night in work what we were prevented doing yesterday by the storm, expended a great quantity of shot and shells at our batteries, but with no better success than in the

the Chevalier de Lévis urged Montcalm to dislodge the British from their post at Montmorency, he replied, "Drive them thence and they will give us more trouble. While they are there they cannot hurt us: let them amuse themselves." See p. 426, note.

A GENERAL VIEW OF QUEBEC FROM POINT LEVY

Drawn by Richard Short, and engraved by P. Canot. London: T. Jefferys, 1761

morning; however, there were three men wounded there to-day, of the 78th regiment; one of the 43d; and an Artillery-Officer had his face scratched by some gravel that was thrown up by a shot. Two oxen were killed in drawing artillery from Burton's Redoubt to the batteries: these are all the accidents that have happened in these last forty-eight hours by the enemy's fire, of which they have been very liberal. Our Carpenters are employed here in making several floating stages,[1] in order, as it is pretended, to ferry over this brigade to attack the enemy at Beauport, whilst General Wolfe, with the other two brigades, are to cross the river of Montmorency, and fall upon their rear; in this case it is added, that the marines are to defend our redoubts and batteries here, and detachments will remain in the north [325] camp, to maintain that post. Such schemes and reports, however, seem only calculated to amuse the enemy, and confirm them in a belief, that nothing will be attempted this campaign by our army, except in that quarter; M. Montcalm has a distinct view of these stages from his camp, and the uses they are said to be intended for, may possibly be conveyed to him by prisoners or deserters. Our works in this camp are almost completed, our redoubts are very strong, having a ditch, with a stout pricket-work in the center, and an abbatis de Bois all round them. On the inside of the Church, or General Hospital, is also an excellent palisade-work, with loop-holes for musketry; and the west end of it is covered by a half-moon, where an Officer's guard mounts every day.

1759. July.

[1] Wolfe says, "Floating Batteries ordered to be made. Our success in the Construction of floating Batteries and Radeaux doubtful."—*Journal*, July 11, 12.

These floating batteries seem to have been constructed upon a plan projected by the Chevalier Tolzer, excepting some bad alterations made by Frizer of the Royal Americans, "one of the many quacks we import from foreign services."—*Journal of the Particular Transactions during the Siege of Quebec* (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 170).

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

1759. July. "When the regiments and corps receive provisions, the "Quarter-Masters are not to give the whole to the men at a "time, but only as they become due. When any men are "killed, or wounded, the Officer, commanding the corps they "belong to, is to report to the Adjutant-General. A third of "the regiments and corps are to parade for work to-morrow "morning as usual. A Serjeant and twelve men from each "picquet to lie in the front of the camp; the remainder to be "ready to turn out at a moment's warning."

"Camp at Montmorency.

12th. "The Quarter-guards of the front line are to be advanced "at least one hundred yards, and, if necessary, are to throw "up some little work to defend them. Bragg's grenadiers to "march as a guard into a new redoubt to-night, and remain "there till after break of day. In case the regiment should be "cannonaded, the companies are instantly to turn out, except "one man of each tent, who are immediately to strike them, "and remain on the ground until farther orders. The Camp-"Colour-Men will conduct their companies [326] to the new "ground: an Officer and non-commissioned Officer of each "company are to go immediately and visit the new ground, that "they may be acquainted with it, before the companies march. "The General recommends, that, upon every occasion, the "troops will turn out briskly, but, at the same time, with all "imaginable silence."

Two pieces of cannon, with ammunition of all kinds, and a quantity of shells, were sent up to the batteries: the garrison very quiet last night and this morning. We have intelligence to-day by deserters, that Montcalm's army are fifteen thousand

strong; that the other, which is to oppose General Amherst, is very inconsiderable; and that there are five frigates and some floating batteries at Les Trois Rivieres, as well to prevent the junction of the two armies, (in case the Commander in Chief should be able to advance) as to cut off all communication between them. A soldier, of the 15th regiment and light infantry company, deserted this day in a canoe. General Wolfe has put his camp in an excellent posture of defence; some batteries are erected against the enemy's left flank, and others are marked out, being proposed to be thrown up, if occasion should require: boats are constantly employed in carrying artillery, ammunition, and provisions to that side.[1] About noon two bomb-ketches worked up to a small cove, on the right of our batteries, to be in readiness to open this night upon the town: the enemy's floats attacked them; two of our frigates pushed up to their assistance, and a smart cannonading ensued, in which our Barbet four-gun battery bore a part; this continued above an hour, without any damage being sustained on either side, the enemy scarce venturing to come near enough for execution: the ketches got into a good situation, and kept it.——At nine o'clock this night a rocket was thrown up as a signal for our batteries and bomb-ketches to play upon the town: our first and second shells fell rather short, which afforded great sport to the enemy, who put forth many triumphant shouts on the occasion: [327] however, we immediately got to the proper distance, and changed their mirth. A fierce bombardment and cannonading was continued the whole night on both sides, of which I had a full view from the Rock-guard, where I was upon duty. At midnight came on a heavy rain, that lasted until it was clear day-light: two ranging Officers have voluntarily proposed to go with a small party express to General Amherst.

1759. July.

[1] The fleet had withdrawn to the Point of Orleans, rendering the passage of the boats dangerous. "The floating batteries still reigning triumphant," says Bell.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

1759. July. 13th. "As the enemy have been observed to work at a battery[1] "on the other side of the water to cannonade the camp, it is "necessary to extend to the right to avoid their fire; the light "infantry is therefore to take post on the wood: Bragg's and "Monckton's are to decamp, and to go to the ground assigned "them by the Quarter-Master-General: Otway's are to occupy "the houses where the light infantry now are: a company of "Grenadiers to incamp in the redoubt: the artillery to be "brought close under the hill: two posts to be fortified, one "before Monckton's, one before Bragg's. A battery of six "pieces of cannon to be marked out immediately to oppose "the enemy's fire; and, as soon as it can conveniently be done, "another battery of four guns shall be erected on the summit "of the hill, overlooking the fall, and commanding the ground "on the other side. In cases where the security of the camp "must be immediately attended to, the troops must expect to "meet with extraordinary fatigues; and, as they go through "them with alacrity and spirit, the General will not be sparing "of such refreshments as he thinks will conduce to keeping "them in health. When any centry of an out-post challenges, "and is answered, *Friend*, he is to say with a clear voice,— "*Advance with the countersign*. When the person advances, the "centry is to receive him in a proper manner of defence*;

[1] Wolfe says: "The Enemy at work all night upon a Battery to fire into the Camp." . . . On this day Wolfe went on board the *Admiral* to adjust matters with Saunders, who was displeased with the General "for speaking harshly upon the subject of their irregularities comitted by the Seamen."

Townshend was left in command at Montmorency and evidently did good work, for Wolfe writes: "Our Howitzers at the Camp at Montmorency checked the Battery intended to fire into the Camp & disloged the Canadians & Indians from the Houses & Posts they had taken."—*Journal*, July 12 and 13.

* The method observed by our troops in receiving the *countersign*, *parole*, &c. is with rested arms; then the person advances to the centry, and delivers

"*surprises may be prevented without risking the lives of our own* 1759.
"*soldiers.*" July.

[328] Our batteries and the town are still warmly engaged: our bomb-ships ceased firing late in the night, but renewed it this morning, and performed exceedingly well. At eleven o'clock all was quiet on both sides. Between twelve and one there was a smart cannonading from the left of General Wolfe's camp, a-cross the fall at a battery the enemy were erecting to enfilade their ground. This continued about an hour, and was warmly renewed in the evening by Brigadier Townshend, the Commander in Chief being on this side of the river. The summers in this country are very hot, and subject to violent rains: we have had a great fall this day. Several boats were seen to cross the river this morning at a distance above the town. A Body of Indians, supposed to be near an hundred, shewed themselves to our light troops this day, and ran off again. Two of our mortar-beds[1] are already damaged by our own firing: the two bomb-ketches have also suffered, and fell down this evening to Orleans to be repaired: their mortars are ordered to be landed with all expedition, and sent up to our batteries.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

"If each regiment and corps will send immediately two 14th.
"careful men to the water-side, who know particularly what
"they want, they will be carried on board the Admiral, where
"each ship of war will have a boat ready to get the things out

it in a whisper. In the Flanders war, the centinels of the German allies usually came to *a present*, or *with bayonet charged breast-high*; and received all watch-words at the point of it, not suffering any person to approach them nearer: this last method seems best calculated to answer the end proposed.—*Note by author.*

[1] "Our Mortars impaired by the prodiguous Quantity of the Powder imprudently used."—*Wolfe's Journal*, July 13.

1759. July. "of the transports. The troops having lost provisions when "they landed here, and having gone through some fatigue, the "General has ordered them one day's fresh provisions extra-"ordinary; great care is recommended for the future, as such "indulgence will not be granted but on very uncommon exi-"gencies. The regiments and corps may send to the Point of "Orleans for one woman per company."

[329] General Wolfe has been these two nights past at our batteries, with the grenadiers, light infantry of this brigade, and some companies of marines, being in expectation of a visit from the enemy, who, by accounts brought by deserters, have crossed the river for that purpose, with near two thousand men *, and were this day seen to return: the General was

* The following authentic information I received from an intelligent person at Quebec: On the 9th instant Monsieur Charrier,[1] Lord of the manor of Point Levi, (esteemed a good soldier and a bold enterprising man) and Mons. Dumas,[2]

[1] The Sieur de Charest (Charrier), seigneur of Beaumont and captain of militia, was active in the French service during 1759 and 1760. When Monckton occupied Point Levi on June 30, Charest crossed over from Quebec and with a few Canadians and Indians maintained a harassing fire on the English. (See p. 391.) A plan to reinforce them and press home the attack was abandoned because of a report received from a prisoner that the English were about to land at Beauport. The prisoner was an Irish Catholic, and was believed by the French (*Journal of Jean Félix Récher: Bulletin des Récherches Historiques*, vol. ix. No. 11). Charest, the Sieur Legris, and others were in command of observation parties about Point Levi for the next fortnight. As a result of their representations Vaudreuil resolved, on July 11, to send about 1500 men under the Sieur Dumas to make an attempt on the English camp. They crossed on the 12th, but, falling into disorder — the students of the Seminary who accompanied the expedition have been blamed for the outcome—fired on each other and returned disheartened. (Most of the French journals speak of these events: see in particular *Relation de Siège de Québec*, in *Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. pp. 307–313. Vaudreuil refers to Charest's zealous service in a letter to the Chevalier de Lévis, April 26, 1760: *Collection de Lévis*, vol. viii. p. 162.)

[2] The Sieur Dumas was appointed Captain of Marines on or before April 20, 1750. He served on the Ohio in 1755, took command in the fight with Braddock after Beaujeu fell, and, by rallying the Canadians and Indians, was largely instrumental in winning that victory. Next year the Cross of St. Louis was granted him in recognition of his gallantry. In 1756 he commanded at Fort Duquesne, and was active in ravaging the borders of Pennsylvania,

greatly disappointed at their not putting their menaces in execution, being well prepared to receive them: he had two brass six-pounders at the batteries, and two at the great detached redoubt that covers them. A large twenty-gun ship,[1] bound from Rochelle to Quebec, was taken a few days ago by some 1759. July.

the Town Major, crossed the river with fifteen hundred men, composed of five hundred inhabitants, three hundred students, one hundred savages, and six hundred militia: that they reconnoitred our redoubts and batteries, and, finding them more defensible than they expected, they sent over for a reinforcement of three hundred *troupes de colonie*, which they obtained; that they were to have attacked on the night of the 12th, but, seeing we then opened our batteries against the town, they deferred their project until the night following; that they formed their corps into two columns, one of which actually set forward to strike this *coup*, and were to be sustained by the other: that they did not proceed above a quarter of a league from their rendezvous, when, being scared by a noise in a coppice, on their march, they turned back; and the second column, seeing them advance towards them so precipitately, took them for a detachment of our troops, and fired upon them; which the others, under the like mistake, and through the excess of their panic, returned. Thus their project was defeated, with the loss of seventy killed and wounded; and was never afterwards renewed or thought of.—*Note by author.*

Maryland, and Virginia. Towards the end of the year he was compelled by ill-health to relinquish his command and return to Quebec. Early in 1757 he took part in an abortive expedition against Fort William Henry. On May 27 of that year he was appointed Major of Quebec. He did good work in organising and drilling the Canadian militia. On October 10, 1757, the Chevalier de Lévis wrote to M. de Moras, Minister of Marine, warmly recommending Dumas for his services both in Canada and on the Ohio (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 173). On January 1, 1759, a commission was made out for him as Major-General Inspector of Troops in Canada. When, on the night of July 18, the British ships passed Quebec and sailed up the river, Dumas was sent with 600 foot and some cavalry to observe them. He repulsed a descent at Pointe aux Trembles on July 20. When Bougainville took command of the forces above the city, Dumas returned to Quebec, and was present at the battle of the Plains. During the autumn of 1759 and the summer of 1760 he commanded the French troops stationed at Jacques Cartier facing Quebec. He served with distinction in the campaign of 1760, was wounded, and returned to France after the surrender of Montreal. Subsequently he received appointments in San Domingo and in Ile de France, and was granted a salary of 1200 livres and a gratuity of 6000 livres. (On Dumas, consult the indices of the *Collection de Lévis* and the *Canadian Archives Report* for 1905, Part IV. Copies of part of his correspondence in 1760 are in the *Canadian Archives*, F. 313.)

[1] This is apparently an error. The *Victoire*, 14 guns, laden with brandy, flour, &c., for Quebec, was captured by the *Lizard*.—*Bell's Journal*, July 13.

1759. July. of our frigates off the island of Anticosti; she was laden with flour, biscuit, brandy, wine, and stores, which were to have been conveyed by the river Saguenney. A fleet of transports[1] are arrived from New-York and Boston, with stores and provisions of all kinds; three hundred provincials are also arrived to recruit the ranging companies and corps of artificers. By these ships we are informed, that Monsieur Bois Hibert (who is now in this country) was at Cape Breton when we were there, and that, since our de- [330] parture, he paid a visit to the island of St. John,[2] and summoned the Commanding Officer of the fort to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword. To this menace he received the following reply: 'Monsieur—you are mistaken—I am not to be terrified by 'you or your threats, and, if you have any regard for yourself, 'and your raggamuffins, you and they would do better to carry 'yourselves off, while ye are in whole bones.'*—Upon this spirited answer, the Partisan, and his *gens de Bois*, retired to the woods, where they lay *perdue* for several days: at length a Serjeant and eighteen men were sent out from the fort, on some occasion or other, who unfortunately fell into the ambush, and not one of them escaped the scalping knife. At ten o'clock this morning there was a brisk cannonading between a small battery, on the side of the hill in the north camp, and the enemy's floats, in which some of our ships bore a-part; however they could not prevent the enemy's passing down into the north channel, on the other side of Orleans. Some detachments of marines were landed to-day, as were likewise our ship-mortars: these are to be employed at a new

[1] The *Echo* and her convoy of provisions arrived at Bic, and the *Scarborough* and convoy with provisions and money from New York.—*Bell's Journal.*

[2] Isle St. Jean was the name applied by the French to Prince Edward Island from the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was given its present name by act of the local legislature in 1798 (39 Geo. III, cap. 1), which received the royal assent in 1799.

* I am credibly informed that Captain Thomas Johnston, of the 22d regiment, was the Officer who commanded at St. John's.—*Note by author.*

battery we are now erecting, on the right of the others. Our artillery are well served, and with seeming success, the lower town being already considerably damaged; the enemy are wasting their ammunition to little purpose. The French lad who was taken, the 9th instant, by a Lieutenant and party of rangers, is enlarged to-day with presents for his friends, some copies of the General's manifesto, and a passport. 1759. July.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

"It is recommended, in the strongest manner, to the "Commanding Officers of corps to take very particular care of "the ammunition; when any part of it is rendered unfit for "immediate ser- [331] vice, it is to be delivered into the "Artillery. The first brigade of grenadiers to be at the water- "side to-night at nine o'clock, with all their baggage: when "they arrive at the opposite side, Captain Leslie will provide "them with carts for their baggage; the provision-guard is to "be immediately augmented to thirty men, with an Officer: "the Officer Commanding is to fortify his post with all expedi- "tion, in the best manner he can. The troops to receive four "days' provisions to-morrow, to the twentieth inclusive; light "infantry and rangers at five; Louisbourg grenadiers at six; "Monckton's at seven; Bragg's at eight; Lascelles's at nine; "Otway's at ten; Anstruther's, the Artillery, and Lawrence's "grenadiers at eleven: the grenadiers and light infantry are "not to receive any of the small species; pork and bread will "be delivered as an equivalent." 15th.

As General Wolfe never had any opportunity of seeing the forty-third regiment, before they rendezvoused at Louisbourg, he was pleased to order them to be reviewed this day by Brigadier Monckton, and directed, that, in the firings, they should expend ammunition cartridges; the Brigadier was

1759. July. pleased to say, 'he never saw greater regularity, closer fire, 'arms better levelled, or less disorder in any other regiment, 'since he had the honour to be an Officer, &c. &c.'

The ground whereon we were reviewed was a field of fine wheat, and, for my own part, I never saw grain closer cut down by the reap-hook, or scithe, than this was; the method we were ordered to observe did not admit of any confusion, though we fired remarkably quick; our firings were from right and left, to the center, by platoons*; and afterwards by subdivisions; taking the [332] word of command from their respective Officers. The grenadiers made a-half wheel inwards, as is usual in general firings, by word of command from the front: the performance of the regiment did, indeed, great honour to Lieutenant-Colonel Demetrius James, Major Robert Elliott, and to themselves; which, perhaps, might not have been expected by the General, from a corps who had been so long cantoned in the remote fortresses of Nova Scotia. After the firings, a Serjeant from another regiment was ordered into the front to shew our men a new method of pushing bayonets; which, as it afforded a good deal of mirth in the field, I shall here describe, with the greatest regard to truth: 'The left hand under the swell below the lowermost rammer-'pipe, and the right hand a-cross the brass at the extremity of 'the butt.'—Thus was the firelock secured, which he poked out before him, in like-manner as an indolent hay-maker turns hay with a forked pole. The Brigadier did not stay in the field to see this new performance, having returned to camp after the firings; therefore, by whose orders this method was shewed to the regiment for imitation, I never could learn; though I made repeated inquiries, because, I confess, I thought it ludicrous, and was not a little ashamed of it.

We are now throwing up a traverse on the upper road

* The 1st on the right of the battalion, then the 16th; the 2d, then the 15th; the 3d, then the 14th; the 4th, then the 13th; so on to the center; and the subdivisions were fired in like manner.—*Note by author.*

behind the great water-mill, whence there is a parapet work extended on the top of the rocky hill commanding the Point, as far as the Parsonage-house, to the south-west of the church; the face of this hill is also cleared of all trees and under-wood: so that the defences of our camp are now almost completed. At one end of the parapet work, a guard of thirty men mounts every day, commanded by the oldest Subaltern on the parade; this is called the Rock-guard: at the other extremity above the church, is a Captain's guard, distinguished by the Great Rock-guard; at night there is a party of rangers in the traverse, behind the water-mill, and another guard of a Subaltern and twenty mount on the top of a high circular rock, which is only accessible at one particular part, and commands [333] an extensive prospect up and down this post, which is called the Little Rock-guard, is situate at the river-side, westward of our barbet battery above the Point. There was a warm cannonading late last night a-cross the Fall, which was briskly renewed this morning on both sides. The troops in the north camp have had their ammunition damaged by the late heavy rains: one hundred thousand cartridges are making up for them with all speed. Our batteries play leisurely on the town,[1] and at times we send a few carcasses into it; the enemy seem sparing of their shot and shells. 1759. July.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

"The provisions must be removed from their present in-
"convenient distance to a spot under the little redoubt, which 16th.
"the Assistant Quarter-Master General will pitch upon. The

[1] This paragraph does not agree with the French journals, or with the majority of the English accounts of the proceedings of the 15th. The Jesuits' college and the cathedral were badly damaged, and many houses were destroyed, while the church in the lower town and Mr. Amiot's house were perforated by shots. The French became exasperated and replied with vigour.

1759. July. "six companies of the grenadiers of the line to be at the water-"side to-night at nine o'clock, with all their baggage; Captain "Leslie will attend them to the opposite shore, and provide "them with carts."

Ninety-six shells, and seven carcasses, have been thrown into the town these last twenty-four hours. The bearer of the last flag of truce from the enemy told General Wolfe:—'We do not doubt but you will demolish the town; but we 'are determined your army shall never get footing within its 'walls.' To which the General replied:—'I will be master of 'Quebec, if I stay here until the latter end of November next.' At eleven o'clock a fire broke out in a large building *[1] in the

* The great cathedral church of Quebec, with all its paintings, images, and ornaments, were intirely destroyed by this conflagration, occasioned by our shells, &c.—*Note by author.*

[1] This was on the 15th. On the 16th the British batteries were directed against the powder magazine. The powder was therefore distributed in the suburbs of St. Louis and St. John. A shell fell on Mr. Chevalier's house, on Mountain Hill, and set fire to nine houses, including those of Madame Boishébert and Madame Chenevert. A large quantity of grain was also destroyed by fire. General Wolfe had a conference with the Admiral concerning the projected descent.

The 17th was an eventful day in the British and French camps. The three prisoners taken by the Indians reported to the French that Wolfe had not more than 9000 or 10,000 troops at the most, and estimated the French forces at from 15,000 to 16,000; that the English general did not dare attack the French in the front, and was in apprehension of being attacked himself; that he was not sanguine about taking Quebec until he could be joined by Amherst, and that the daily ration of the army was seven ounces of biscuit and an equal quantity of salt meat. The same prisoners also told the French that an old man and some women on the north shore were daily carrying refreshments to the English camp, and had also pointed out to General Wolfe the fords of Montmorency. On this day also the batteries at Montmorency wrought havoc in the camp of the Marquis de Lévis, and eight men were killed.—See *Panet's Journal*, *Récher's Journal*, the *Journal tenue à l'armée que commandait Montcalm*, and *Relation du Siège de Québec* (*Siege of Quebec*, v. 314).

General Wolfe records that a deserter came in "with the first good Intelligence we have been able to procure; the Enemy's design upon our Batty. at the Pt. Lévy. Discovered they had actually passed the Etchemin River with 1600 Canadians—but took fright, fired upon one another, & went back." —*Journal.* See p. 418 and notes.

upper town, and burned with great fury, by the wind's blowing fresh at north-west: the enemy seemed [334] thereby much incensed, and cannonaded our batteries very vigorously for the space of two hours; our batteries in the north camp played briskly into the enemy's camp at the same time, without any return. A party of Canadians and Indians shewed themselves on the high ground to the eastward of our camp; the rangers, supported by the picquets, soon went in pursuit of, and dispersed them. The enemy's fire slackened towards evening, and the building, which was in flames, seems to be either consumed or extinguished. 1759. July.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

"Otway's regiment, the grenadiers of the line, the Louis- 17th.
"bourg grenadiers, and the corps of light infantry under
"Colonel Howe, are to do no duty this day after twelve
"o'clock; they are all to parade in the front of the thirty-
"fifth regiment, at four o'clock this afternoon. Colonel
"Howe will leave a detachment of fifty men in his camp,
"and post the picquet of Monckton's, now on the right, in
"such manner as he thinks best for the farther security of it.
"The detachments ordered to cut fascines are to have escorts
"of light infantry; notice must be sent to Colonel Howe in
"time, that a body of men are to be employed on that service
"at a particular hour, and the working party is not to go
"into the wood, until the light infantry is posted. The
"General has ordered *two sheep and some rum to Captain*
"*Cosnan's company of grenadiers* (forty-fifth regiment) *for the*
"*spirit they shewed this morning in pushing those scoundrels of*
"*Indians: it is, however, recommended to the Officers to pursue*
"*those people with caution, lest they should be drawn too far*
"*into the woods, and fall iuto an ambuscade.*"

1759. July. The town and our batteries were very quiet last night; the enemy were endeavouring to finish a battery on the west side of the Fall; but General Wolfe gave them such heavy fire from his can- [335] non and howitzers as obliged them to desist.* Major Dalling's light infantry are ordered to remove to the hills, between our camp and the batteries, to leave room for the marines to occupy their former ground. Notwithstanding the excessive hot fire on our batteries and redoubts yesterday from the town, there was no damage sustained on our part, either to the works, or the troops employed there. The savages are very troublesome in the neighbourhood of the north camp, which obliges the troops to be very alert:[2] the General frequently sends out large detachments to scour the environs of his camp, and to endeavour to draw part of the French army out of their trenches, by often countermarching in the skirts of the woods in their view, as if intending to cross the river of Montmorency, and attack them; four grenadiers were scalped there last night. Two of our floating stages were sent over to-day to Orleans for trial; they will each contain near three hundred men, and are supported on the water by a parcel of iron-bound pipes, or casks, fastened together with small cables; they are exactly square, with a hand-rail to three faces; and the fourth face is covered by a kind of mantlet, or wooden fence, musket-proof; which,

* I was informed by a French regular Officer at Quebec, that it was not a battery, but an epaulement,[1] they were erecting to cover the left flank of their camp; that M. de Levis often solicited M. Montcalm to erect batteries and dislodge Mr. Wolfe, and his troops, from the Fall; but the other refused—saying, 'Drive them thence, and they will give us more trouble; while they are 'there, they cannot hurt us; let them amuse themselves.'—*Note by author.*

[1] Epaulement: A rampart serving as protection against hostile fire, but not designed for replying to that fire.

[2] General Wolfe says: "The Savages attacked the Centre of a covering party, killed 5 men and wounded others, carried of 3 prisoners of Porter's Grandrs."—*Journal.*

On the same day the French lost Captain Collet of Parent's battery, who was killed by a shot from the British batteries while standing in front of his house.

upon the floats being towed towards the shore, lets down, and forms a stage for the troops to disembark on. 1759. July.

I confess I think they are unwieldy, and not likely to answer the intended purposes, as they cannot be otherwise worked (especially on this rapid river) than by boats taking them in tow.[1]

Slack firing between the town and our batteries to-day; another mortar and some cannon were brought up there this afternoon: weather showery, though warm.

[336] "ORDERS

"Camp at Montmorency.

"The usual manner of placing centries in a wood gives 18th.
"the enemy frequent opportunities at their posts;[2] it is there-
"fore ordered, that, when a covering party is to take post in a
"wood, it will be divided into squads, of at least eight men
"in each, and placed within convenient distance of each other,
"so as to be able to communicate; half of these squads are
"always to have their arms ready, which will not be very
"fatiguing, since they are relieved in the same manner the
"working parties are, when the strength of the covering party
"will admit of it: there should be a reserve behind the
"center, and the parties upon each extremity should be double
"in numbers to the rest. All the out-posts are to place
"double centries in the night, and they are to be so near the
"guard, that they can retire to it, if attacked. The regiments
"of Bragg, Lascelles, and Anstruther, are to be under arms
"this evening at five o'clock, on the ground in the front
"of Otway's; they are to receive their orders from Brigadier

[1] These were evidently the result of the combined genius of the Chevalier Tolzer and "one Frizer."

[2] "Opportunities of killing single men at their posts": see Errata.

1759. July. "Townshend. Some molasses, and a jill of rum, per man, "will be delivered to the troops this day."

Many new projects are talked of;[1] *but, I believe, from no other motive than to amuse the enemy, in order that false intelligence may be circulated throughout their camps, should any of our soldiers desert: a practice common in all armies; and the reader in the course of this work will find many stratagems and reports recited, which were never intended to be put in execution: and, therefore, are not to be looked upon as inventions of the Author of this Journal.*

The garrison has not fired at our batteries since three o'clock in the afternoon yesterday: they began this day at noon, and con- [337] tinued cannonading and bombarding incessantly until sun-set, without any loss or accident whatsoever: General Wolfe was there for some time; no man can display greater activity than he does, between the different camps of his army. A deserter come over from the enemy,[2] who says M. Montcalm has received a packet from Montreal, by express, within these three days, and that the contents are kept very secret; by which it is conjectured, that affairs do not answer M. Bourlemacque's[3] wishes upon the frontiers. (This is the Officer who commands the army opposed to General Amherst at Ticonderoga.)—The deserter adds, that our batteries are to be attacked to-night by fifteen hundred chosen men; that the enemy intended it some nights ago, but their hearts failed them. An Indian was said to be taken on this side the river to-day by some of our out-parties: I am told he was quite naked, painted red and blue, with bunches of painted feathers fastened to his head. Some soldiers who

[1] Wolfe had serious thoughts of making an attack at this time on Quebec, and consulted the Admiral on the subject.

[2] Both the English and French journals refer to this on the 17th. See note under that date.

[3] See p. 504, note 2.

deserted yesterday, from our troops in the north camp, fell into the hands of the savages, and were since discovered, in the woods, killed and scalped. Between ten and eleven o'clock this night, sailed with a fair wind, and with tide of flood, the Sutherland, Captain Rouse, with the Squirrel, three cats, and two trading sloops [1] with provisions, and passed the town; the Diana frigate was to have accompanied them, but she ran a-ground under the Little Rock-Guard, and stuck so fast, that she could not be got off. The enemy did not fire above twenty-eight guns all last night, which makes us conjecture, that the sailing of these ships into the upper river was a great surprise to them; General Wolfe, who was then at our batteries, gave the town a most incessant fire, while this small fleet were passing. The person who was taken to-day, naked and painted, was not an Indian, but a Canadian in disguise; a practice not uncommon among the natives of this country, when detached on any enterprise with the savages. We are informed there are no other troops in the city of Quebec, than the guards, amounting to about three hundred men. 1759. July.

[338] "ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency. 19th.

"The regiments and corps to be drawn out this evening "at five o'clock, at their alarm-posts, that every person may "know where he is to be posted, in case of an alarm. The "regiments of the front line are to march up to the parapet in "their front; Captain Capel,[2] with the two companies in the "post upon the right, are to be drawn up in that post:

[1] Thirty-one shots were fired from the French batteries. The French officers were much disconcerted, for they realized that communication with Montreal by water would be cut off.

[2] Joseph Capel, appointed Captain-Lieutenant of the 28th Regiment, March 8, 1757.

1759. July. "Anstruther's regiment, ordered to support Colonel Howe's "corps, is to be drawn up, one half to the right of it, one "half towards the left; and to dress even with the rear of "the light infantry; Otway's regiment to post one company "in each of the two lower batteries, and forty men at the "intrenched White-House; Colonel Fletcher, with the re- "mainder of that regiment, are to march up the hill and "dress in a line, with his left to the redoubt, and his right "to the intrenchment; Lascelles's regiment to form, with its "left to Brigadier Townshend's quarters, and his right to the "house occupied by Captain Capel.—Before the regiments of "the front line march to their alarm-posts, they are to strike "their tents, and leave them flat, that the troops may be able "to *manœuvre* with as little difficulty as possible. The Louis- "bourg grenadiers are to be in and about the large redoubt.[1] "The troops in the redoubts, and fortified posts, are to have "seventy rounds of ammunition, which they must put in the "softest place they can. Soldiers are not to be permitted to "swim in the heat of the day, but only in the mornings and "evenings. Upon firing two cannon-shot (very quiet) from "the right of Bragg's, the whole line are to repair forthwith "to their alarm-posts."

The enemy erected a gibbet on the grand battery above the lower town, and hanged two centinels, we suppose, for not being more alert on their posts, and neglecting to apprise them of the first [339] appearance of our ships advancing, to pass the garrison, into the upper river.

Captain Rouse has taken some of the enemy's small craft, set fire to them, and sent them down: there are on board the Sutherland, and the other ships above, the grenadiers of the

[1] The order as printed by the *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec* adds here: "The commanding officers of corps are to prevent y^e^ soldiers destroying y^e^ parapit by taking out y^e^ timber to burn. When wood is wanted, a No. of men may be sent to cut it with a proper escort to cover them." In the next sentence, for "softest" the reading is "safest."

15th, 48th, and 78th regiments, together with a battalion of Royal Americans; this detachment is under the command of Colonel Carleton, and his object, it is said, is to destroy a large magazine of provisions, which the enemy are reported to have at Point de Tremble,[1] to procure intelligence, and to endeavour to divide the enemy's force and attention from this quarter: the grenadiers of the 43d regiment were destined for this service; but, being on board of the Diana, they were ordered to disembark to-day.[2] A Serjeant has deserted from the enemy, who says, 'he is of opinion General Amherst will meet 'with little opposition at Carillon (or Crown-Point) to which 'he is advancing very successfully; that the Canadians begin to 'be dissatisfied and tired of the siege; that, in consequence 'of General Wolfe's manifesto's, they would gladly quit the 'army, return to their respective habitations, and remain neuter; 'but, when there is the least murmur or discontent among 'them, M. Montcalm and the Governor General threaten them 'with the savages.'—This man adds, that the most respectable inhabitants of Quebec are retired, with all their portable effects, to Point de Tremble. The enemy's floating batteries had the presumption to come and attack the Diana frigate, but were soon beat off by two field-pieces, which Brigadier Monckton sent down with all dispatch to that part of the shore for that purpose. There was a smart cannonading, this afternoon, between a battery on the side of the hill in the north camp, the battery on the Point of Orleans, and some of the enemy's floats: one of the latter was blown up, had five men killed, and two blasted, who with difficulty crept to the shore; another float was also drove a-shore, not, however, until she had one man killed, and had no other way at that time to re- [340] tire, the tide being too far spent. Our new batteries are in

1759. July.

[1] Pointe aux Trembles.

[2] On the 19th, General Wolfe "reconnoitred the country immediately above Quebec, and found that if we had ventured the stroke *that was first intended, we should probably* [the word "infallibly" is crossed out in Wolfe's *Journal*] *have succeeded.*"

1759. July. great forwardness, and will soon be ready to open. The command at Orleans have been reinforced by some of the provincials, who lately arrived from New-England.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

20th.[1] "The guards near the water-side to take up any soldier "that may be seen swimming, between the hours of nine in "the morning and five in the afternoon; this order to be im- "mediately read to the men. Two hundred and fifty men to "parade this evening at five o'clock at the Artillery-ground; "they will receive their orders from Major M'Kellar. When "Major M'Kellar has established the posts in the front of the "quarter-guards, an Officer and eighteen men of each guard "are to advance to the post assigned them, leaving the "remainder of his guard in its present post, which will be "reinforced, if necessary."

A deserter from the enemy swam a-cross the river this day; he says he heard it often talked of in camp, that there is a great misunderstanding between Monsieur Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, and Monsieur de Montcalm; that the troops in garrison do not amount to four hundred, and those in the field consist of four incomplete regiments of regulars, two regiments of colony troops, and about eleven thousand militia and savages. He adds, that it is a heinous crime among them to talk of the army on the side of Carillon;—but, however, he did learn, by the means of a comrade, who is an Officer's valet, that General Amherst's army advances with hasty strides upon their frontiers, but that what disconcerts the enemy most is for the fate of Niagara, where, it is privately

[1] On this day General Wolfe reconnoitred "Selery la Chaudiere and Carrouge, ordered a Detachment up the River for Intelligence." The General was accompanied by the Grenadiers and Royal Americans.

reported, we have cut out some work for them. This man further says, that one of our soldiers, who lately deserted from the north camp, acquainted M. Montcalm, that our army does not exceed eight [341] thousand effective men. Captain Rouse has sent down a parcel of shallops; after setting fire to them, our seamen grappled and towed them a-shore. It is confidently said, that a body of chosen men from the French army, amounting to seventeen hundred, have crossed the river, and are at a small distance in the woods, to the westward of our batteries.[1] 1759. July.

(Twelve o'clock.)

Orders are given out to the troops on this side to be ready to march this evening; our tents are to remain standing; every man is to take two days' provisions, a blanket, thirty-six rounds of ammunition, and two spare flints; eleven hundred seamen and three hundred marines are under the like orders. The conjectures on this head are various; some are of opinion, we are intended to storm the town this night; others, that we are to endeavour to cut off the corps of seventeen hundred men, which the enemy are said to have detached to our side of the river; while others look upon these sudden orders and reports as the effects of policy.

(Three o'clock.)

The foregoing orders are countermanded.

The light infantry, who have been on a scout, are returned this day; they brought in some cattle and plunder, also a man and boy, whom they surprised this morning, as they were fishing: the former discharged his piece before he would surrender, whereby we had one man killed; we had near an hour's conversation with this fellow, at Nadau's great water-mill, who seemed to be a subtle old rogue,[2] of seventy years of age (as he told us) and I think was a prodigy, for his

[1] See note, p. 424.

[2] This was probably the "old man" referred to by the prisoners; see p. 424.

1759. July. advanced time of life: he boasted a good deal to us, and said the French army were thirty thousand strong, and the half of them were regulars; we plied him well with Port wine, and then his heart was more open, and, seeing that we laughed at his exaggerated accounts, he said, 'he wished the affair was 'well over, one way or the other; that his countrymen were 'all discontented, and would either surrender, or disperse and 'act a neu- [342] tral part, if it was not for the persuasions 'of their Priests, and the fear of being mal-treated by the 'savages, with whom they are threatened on all occasions.'— The Diana frigate has got off with little or no damage; slack firing at our batteries to-day, the enemy silent.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

21st. "One Captain, two Subalterns, and fifty men, of Major "Hardy's detachment, to be posted in the redoubt at night. "One subaltern and thirty men, from that corps, to be posted "every evening at the batteries where the grenadiers were "posted."

Part of the detachment of the 62d regiment, under Major Hardy, are removed to the north camp from Orleans, and are replaced by the Louisbourg grenadiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Murray. Our batteries played briskly on the town last night. This morning the General engaged the enemy very warmly, for some hours, with his cannon and howitzers, a-cross the fall. The weather exceedingly wet and uncomfortable. The rangers, under Captain Goreham, have established a post, in a large house, a few miles westward of our batteries, and near to the river Etchemin, where they have fortified themselves; this is called Goreham's Post. General Wolfe was at our batteries to-day, and, while he continued there, the town fired near fifty shot (after being long quiet) with their

usual ill success. The General took an escort from thence to Goreham's Post, where he had a barge to attend him, and proceeded immediately into the upper river to reconnoitre, after which he went on board the Sutherland. 1759. July.

The enemy having erected a battery at Sillery,[1] opposite to the river Etchemin, where they have mounted a mortar, and two pieces of cannon, the squadron under Captain Rouse have been thereby obliged to remove higher up in the river: the mast of the General's barge was carried away by a shot from that battery, [343] while his Excellency was a-breast of it. Two of our mortar-beds being damaged, occasions our giving the enemy some respite from shells, until they are repaired.

"ORDERS.

"The regiments and corps will send for a jill of rum per "man, which the Commanding Officers will order to be distri- "buted to the men, in such manner as they shall judge proper. "As it is impossible, at present, to remove to better ground, "great care is to be taken to air the tents, and dry the straw "and ground. The light infantry to be ready to march at a "moment's warning." 22d.

Our batteries, eastward of the fall, kept a warm fire last night, for several hours, on the enemy's camp; after which some of the heaviest guns were dismounted, drawn down to the beach, embarked, and ferried over here; three ten-inch mortars and six howitzers were drawn up this day to Burton's Redoubt. Some of the light infantry, who have been on a scout, have brought in several black cattle, a flock of sheep, and a few pigs. We have received advice, that the detachment, under Colonel Carleton, sailed some leagues up the river, landed on the north side, and made a number of prisoners, among whom there are few persons of fashion. The Colonel

[1] This was the Samos battery, constructed to oppose the return of the ships. See vol. ii. p. 75, note.

1759. July. went in search of magazines, but was not so successful as could have been wished; he met with some opposition at landing from a body of Indians, yet sustained no other loss than having a few men and Officers wounded, among whom was Major Prevost, of the Royal Americans; the soldiers acquired some plunder, though very insignificant. By the same advices, the enemy shewed the like jealousy and attention every-where, as below the town, fortifying the most accessible parts of the north shore, for many leagues upwards: by letters that fell into our hands, the inhabitants describe their situation as completely wretched, and lament much our ships riding above the town, as [344] thereby they conclude they have lost their communication with Montreal and the upper country: one of these epistles from a Priest at Quebec, to another of his fraternity in the country, has fallen into my hands, of which the following is an extract:

'The English are too cunning for us, and who could have 'suspected it? Part of their fleet passed all our batteries, and 'are now riding in safety above the citadel: they have made 'this town so hot, that there is but one place left, where we 'can with safety pay adoration to our most [1] gracious, but now 'wrathful and displeased, God, who we much fear has for-'saken us.'

A flag of truce was sent up to the town to-day, relative to the exchange of prisoners.[2]

The weather cleared up this evening after a very rainy forenoon. At night-fall our new batteries were opened against the town, which produced a furious cannonading on both sides, with some shells and carcasses from us.

"ORDERS.

23d. "Lascelles's regiment to take the post lately occupied by "Anstruther's. The Commanding Officers of corps to give

[1] "once": see Errata.

[2] See note, p. 440.

"directions that the Butchers, and others, who kill meat, 1759. July.
"always bury the offals. Anstruther's regiment is always to
"furnish any working party, upon application made, with such
"a number of men as may be necessary to cover them. The
"troops to receive fresh provisions to-morrow, to the 28th
"inclusive; Otway's at five; Lascelles's at seven; Bragg's at
"half after eight; Monckton's at ten; Anstruther's and
"rangers at half past eleven; artillery at one. Otway's regi-
"ment to hold themselves in readiness to march, with three
"days' provision, three or four miles up the river of Mont-
"morency, to escort Brigadier-General Murray, who has orders
"to reconnoitre that river, and the country bordering upon it;
"they are to take their blankets, and two jills of rum per man
"will be delivered to them, which must be made into grog."

[345] Between ten and eleven o'clock last night part of the Lower Town took fire, and burnt with great rapidity until nine this morning. The Leostoffe's barge, which fell into the enemy's hands as she was sounding, is retaken by Captain Goreham's rangers. Colonel Fraser, with five hundred Highlanders, are under orders of readiness to march at a moment's warning: they are to take four days' provisions with them. Two ships of war weighed at three o'clock this morning, in order to pass into the upper river; but, the wind coming right a-head, and blowing fresh, at the same time the tide of flood being almost spent, they were obliged to fall down again, and come to an anchor: in their attempt, the enemy expended many rounds of ammunition to very little purpose.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

"— As fresh straw cannot conveniently be got for the 24th.
"troops, it is recommended to the Commanding Officers to
"direct the cutting of spruce boughs for that purpose. Pro-
"vision guard is to be augmented to sixteen at night, and

1759. July. "remain so until morning; at which time the number added "may return to camp. *The General strictly forbids the in-* "*human practice of scalping, except when the enemy are Indians,* "*or Canadians dressed like Indians.*" [1]

The Officer, who carried the last flag of truce to the town, was used with great rigour, not being allowed even the benefit of light, though in a house. It is said, that General Wolfe is much displeased at such ungenteel treatment, and has declared he will represent his disapprobation of this uncivilised behaviour, by letter to Mons. Montcalm, when next he may have occasion to send to him. Colonel Carleton has sent down three French gentlemen prisoners, who were immediately transmitted on board of the Admiral: [2] that detachment still remains on board the squadron in the upper river. We have maintained an almost incessant fire of shot and shell against the town these last fourteen hours, which set part of it in flames; the enemy very sparing [346] of their ammunition. A flag of truce came down at ten o'clock this morning, and was detained until six in the evening. Our weather is extremely wet and unfavourable. *Our out-parties are ordered to burn and lay waste the country for the future, sparing only churches, or houses dedicated to divine worship: it is again repeated, that women and children are not to be molested on any account whatsoever.*[3]

[1] This last sentence is given in the order of July 27, in *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents* (Fourth Series). There the following Regimental Order is published under date July 24: "The commanding officer having observ'd that there is much swearing and indecent language used amongst ye men, such as is unbecoming gentlemen and soldiers, desires the commandg officers of companies to confine any man so offending, and make an example of who ever is a disgrace to the service in genl. and the corps he belongs to."

[2] Probably those captured on the 21st: see note, p. 439.

[3] The next day Major Dalling posted up at St. Henry a proclamation announcing this policy of devastation which the General had resolved on, "being offended by the little regard that the inhabitants of Canada had paid to his proclamation of the 27th of the preceding month." (See *Journal du Siège de Québec par Jean Claude Panet;* also *Siege of Quebec*, vol. ii. p. 123.)

We played so warmly on the town last night, that a fire broke out in two different parts of it at eleven o'clock, which burnt with great rapidity until near three this morning: the enemy remained perfectly quiet during that time, and still continue so. We are erecting a new six-gun battery to the right of the others, to keep the lower town in ruin, which appears to be almost destroyed. The three companies of grenadiers, belonging to the first brigade that composed part of Colonel Carleton's detachment, came down the river last night in boats undiscovered. Colonel Fraser's detachment is marched. A deserter informs us, that Mons. Montcalm was heard to tell the Governor-General—*You have sold your country, —but, while I live, I will not deliver it up.* Major Dalling's light infantry brought in this afternoon, to our camp, two hundred and fifty male and female prisoners: among this number was a very respectable-looking Priest, and about forty men fit to bear arms: there was almost an equal number of black cattle, with about seventy sheep and lambs, and a few horses. Brigadier Monckton entertained the Reverend Father and some other fashionable personages in his tent,[1] and most

1759. July. 25th.

[1] General Wolfe, in his *Journal*, reports that on the 20th he sent a detachment up the river for intelligence, and at dawn of day the expedition encountered some Canadians and Indians. On the 21st the detachment returned without loss and brought off a number of prisoners, particularly women, and a Jesuit missionary. "22nd Weather rainy & foggy, so that little could be done. The women & Priest sent back to Quebeck."

Captain Bell, under date of the 21st, says: "This morning the 48th, 15th, and Highland Granadiers and Royal Americans went up and landed about 6 leagues above the town on the South shore, took 200 women of Quebeck, some of the best sort." Jean Claude Panet refers to the capture having taken place on the 21st: "At half past three in the morning, the twelve hundred men went up to Pointe aux Trembles. They were met by a fire from about 40 Indians, losing six or seven men and as many wounded. They surrounded the houses near the church where they took three men prisoners, including the Sieur La Casse, who was sleeping with Madame L——, and who had left the reserve company under a plea of a pain in his legs. He was taken on the road in a wheatfield (fine moral conduct) with the sieur Laîné and the sieur Frichet. They took away about thirteen ladies from the town, who had taken refuge in the place, including Mesdames Duchesnay, De Charnay, her mother, her sister, Mlle. Couillard, the Joly, Mailhot and Magnan families; whom

1759. July. humanely ordered refreshments to all the rest of the captives: which noble example was followed by the soldiery, who generously crowded about those unhappy people, sharing their provisions, rum, and tobacco, with them: they were sent in the evening on board of transports in the river. While they were on shore, I had an opportunity of conversing with some

they treated with the utmost civility." (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Fourth Series.)

And on the 22nd: "At about nine o'clock, they sent a flag of truce from L'Anse des Mères, offering to land all the women, on condition of our allowing a small boat with their wounded to pass. This offer was accepted. We went to receive the women at l'Anse des Mères at three o'clock in the afternoon, who had been brought back with the greatest civility. Each officer has given his name to the fair prisoners he had made." (*Ibid.*)

The ladies were entertained by General Wolfe and Brigadier Monckton and seem to have spent a very enjoyable evening on the 21st. At nine o'clock the next morning Captain Hervey Smith, A.D.C. to General Wolfe, went to the town blindfolded under a flag of truce to offer on the part of the General to restore the ladies safe and sound to Quebec, provided that a small boat in charge of the Highlanders was allowed to pass to the island of Orleans with the sick and wounded. The French accepted, but the diarist adds—"we noticed several other boats containing cattle and plunder." As the Highlanders had taken on board quantities of cattle and plunder one can imagine their delight as they passed the guns of the town with this huge cargo following in the wake of the innocent little boat with its white flag.

On the night of July 23–24, two detachments, under the command of Colonel Fraser and of Major Dalling, were sent out to scour the country. Colonel Fraser's party went down the river, and, apparently on the night of the 25th–26th (accounts differ: the author makes the entry under the 27th) were waylaid below Beaumont by a party of Canadians. Colonel Fraser and Captain MacPherson were wounded. They brought in many cattle, but only a few prisoners. Major Dalling marched in the opposite direction, and at St. Henry on the river Etchemin took nearly 300 prisoners. They returned on the 25th, and sent the prisoners to the camp at Point Levi. Among these was M. Dufrost, curé of Point Levi, who doubtless was the priest entertained by Monckton. These prisoners, unlike those taken at Pointe aux Trembles, were not returned to Quebec, but sent on board the transports. The cause may have been the remark which the author, below, ascribes to the French envoy. (These events are narrated in many journals: see especially *Journal de Jean Félix Récher, Récherches Historiques*, vol. ix. No. 12; *Journal of Malcolm Fraser*, in *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents* (Second Series); *Townshend's Journal*, in *Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. pp. 251–2; *Journal of Particular Transactions, ibid.*, pp. 173–4; James Gibson to Governor Lawrence, August 1, 1759, *ibid.*, p. 65).

of the most intelligent of them, who assured me, that Mr. Wolfe's placart had such effect upon the people in general, that they would actually have conformed to his desire and commands, therein proposed and promised to the Canadians, if it had not been for the ar- [347] bitrary menaces of Mons. Montcalm, who threatened them with the savages; that, after the first surprise was over, upon their being made prisoners, they were overjoyed to see themselves in the hands of the English; for that they had been under apprehensions, for several days past, of having a body of four hundred barbarians sent among them to rifle their parish and habitations. All the letters, that have been intercepted, as well as their own personal accounts, agree in the scarcity of bread throughout the province. I saw one of these letters that had been wrote by a person in Quebec to his friend in the country: and was to this effect:——'I herewith send you fourteen biscuits, which 'are all that I can spare, and, in our present distressful and most 'deplorable situation, are no small compliment,' &c.——This day two hundred marines were detached to the north camp, to do duty with the troops there. The Town-Major of Quebec, who came down with the last flag of truce,[1] took upon him to reflect on our conduct in making so many captives among the old men, women, and children of the country; and on our politeness in returning them, because we did not know how else to dispose of them, &c. &c. Whereupon he was desired to inform his Superiors—that, since they were pleased to view our lenity and generous behaviour in that unfavourable light, we had ships and provisions enough to accommodate all prisoners that we may happen to make hereafter, and for the future we should not trouble them with any more of them. This gentleman intimated, that they were now employed in erecting traverses and other works in all parts of the Upper and Lower Town, thereby insinuating, that they would stand

1759. July.

[1] The bearer of this flag of truce was Captain Mercier, whom Bell describes as "a notorious rascally and impudent fellow."

1759. July. the consequences of a storm, rather than forfeit their capital.

26th. Admiral Holmes marched up to Goreham's post last night, escorted by Major Dalling's corps of light infantry; from thence he proceeded this morning, in a barge, on board of the Sutherland, in order to take the command of the fleet in the Upper river. We threw one hundred and fifty shells and carcasses into the town these last eighteen hours, besides discharging a great number of shot: the enemy re- [348] turned only two shells and a few shot in that space of time. Our weather showery, and, in general, has been very wet since we came up the river. The enemy are erecting some works on the left of their camp, but our batteries eastward of the fall fired so briskly on them to-day, that they were obliged to desist: General Wolfe was at the same time reconnoitring to the northward of his camp, and his escort was attacked; whereupon a smart skirmish ensued, in which we had about fifty killed and wounded, and, by the numbers the enemy carried off, (who were mostly Indians)[1] it is conjectured their loss may be almost double: we took eleven scalps. This morning a Surgeon's Mate, escorted by a Corporal and six men, who were going to join one of the corps of light infantry, were way-laid a few miles to the westward of our batteries by twenty of the enemy. The Mate and two men were killed on the spot; two others were slightly wounded, and made prisoners.*

[1] "Early in the morning a Party of Indians crossed the ford & were beat back by our People. About noon they came over in greater numbers—drove two comps. of foot, who retired in great confusion & disordered the Battalion. Coll. Howe's Light infantry attacked their flank & endeavoured to surround them, & Br. Murray detached two Comp's of Otway's to get upon their right flank. The Enemy put into Disorder & defeated & driven over the water. In these two Skirmishes we had near 40 killed & wounded—chiefly from the opposite Bank of the River, by the indiscreet pursuit of some of our People."—*Wolfe's Journal*, July 26. Captain Bell had his arm "broke by the rascals."

* These two men belonged to the 15th and 43d regiments: they were released upon the surrender of Quebec, had been treated with great humanity, and were well recovered of their wounds.—*Note by author.*

The Corporal and the remaining two made their escape to the batteries: a large detachment was instantly sent out to scour the country, but could not come up with the enemy, who had retired with so much precipitation, that they neither staid to carry off one of their own men who was also killed, or to scalp the Mate and the two soldiers; for our people found them all four, and buried them. A flag of truce came from the town this afternoon, but on what account has not yet transpired. Our batteries have fired almost incessantly this day on the town, which the enemy briskly returned for some hours: a marine was wounded in the foot by a splinter of a shell. 1759. July.

The wind has continued so long at W. and W. N. W. that our ships cannot pass the town to reinforce Admiral Holmes; some of them wait for the first favourable opportunity. Colonel Fraser's detachment returned this morning, and presented us with more scenes of distress, and the dismal consequences of war, by a great number [349] of wretched families, whom they brought in prisoners, with some of their effects, and near three hundred black cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses. 27th.

> *Though these acts of hostility may be warrantable by the law of nations and rules of war, yet, as humanity is far from being incompatible with the character of a soldier, any man, who is possessed of the least share of it, cannot help sympathising with, and being sincerely affected at, the miseries of his fellow-creatures, though even his enemies; making every charitable allowance for their repeated barbarities, as the natural result of ignorance and prejudice of education.*

The Highlanders surprised a small advanced party of the enemy, with whom they had a skirmish, wherein the Colonel and one of his Captains [1] were wounded, which was the only

[1] Colonel Fraser and Captain MacPherson. General Wolfe says that they were wounded by the same ball, but not dangerously. See p. 440, note.

1759. July. accident that happened to his detachment: the enemy had nine killed and several wounded. The troops on this side were served with fresh provisions to-day. We have bombarded the town very briskly these last twenty-four hours. This night a verbal order was sent to each regiment to have an expert Officer, Serjeant, and twenty-five chosen men in readiness, at a moment's warning, for a very particular service; as the eldest Lieutenant of the 43d regiment was Adjutant,—this duty fell to my lot.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

28th. "The troops are to be ready to turn out, this evening, at "five o'clock, and take their posts as shall be directed. When "recovered men join their regiments, they are to be kept off "duty for a week or ten days, as the Surgeon of the regiment "shall judge best; the troops to receive provisions to-morrow "to the first of August inclusive, &c. Brigadier Townshend "orders the troops to draw up immediately, and then ground "their arms at the head of their respective incampments, and "wait for farther orders."

[350] We opened a new six-gun battery last night, which, with the others to the left of it, kept a most tremendous fire on the town, and is still continued. The eight battalion companies of the 43d regiment were drawn up in the streets of their camp this morning; and I made choice of the Serjeant, and twenty-five rank and file, for particular service, pursuant to the verbal order of last night to the respective regiments for that purpose, who were immediately commanded to be in readiness at a moment's warning. The bearer of the last flag of truce from the town [1] was pleased to say, *he did not imagine the English were such fools as to come here with so small an army,—a handful of troops*, &c. &c. To which he was answered,—

[1] This was probably the "notorious rascally and impudent fellow," Captain Mercier.

though few the English are, and yet subdivided, your army, notwithstanding their superior numbers, are afraid of us, which is conspicuous from your not daring to leave your strong intrenchments to attack any of our camps or batteries. Late last night the enemy sent down a most formidable fire-raft,[1] which consisted of a parcel of schooners, shallops, and stages, chained together; it could not be less than an hundred fathoms in length, and was covered with grenades, old swivels, gun and pistol barrels loaded up to their muzzles, and various other inventions and combustible matters. This seemed to be their *derniere* attempt against our fleet, which happily miscarried as before; for our gallant seamen, with their usual expertness, grappled them before they got down above a third part of the bason, towed them safe to shore, and left them at anchor, continually repeating—*All's well.* A remarkable expression from some of these intrepid souls to their comrades on this occasion I must not omit, on account of its singular uncouthness, viz. *Dam-me, Jack, did'st thee ever take hell in tow before?*——The wind is at length fair for ships to pass the town. A flag of truce was sent up this day to the garrison, and it is confidently said to convey the following message to the French Generals: 'If the 'enemy presume to send down any more fire-rafts, they are to 'be made fast to two particular transports, in which are all the 'Canadian and other prisoners, in order [351] that they may 'perish by their own base inventions;' and it is pretended, that the Masters of these transports have received their orders accordingly. This, however, is only looked upon as a menace, that, in case any of our men should fall into the enemy's hands, by desertion or otherwise, they may be able to confirm these political threats. A verbal order was sent to the respective regiments, directing that the chosen parties, who are under orders of readiness for particular service, shall continue so, but are nevertheless to do camp duty. The Centurion has changed her station, and edged over to the

1759. July.

[1] The only damage done was to the bowsprit of one of the boats.

1759. July. north side, as near as she can with safety, to annoy a battery and advanced redoubt, which the enemy have opposed to the ford below the fall: several shells were thrown at her, to make her remove to her former distance; but the Admiral brought her to an anchor, and remained there.

"ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

29th. "The regiments are to be under arms, at five o'clock this "afternoon, at the head of their incampments, and to wait "there till sent for to their respective alarm-posts.[1] The rest "of the light infantry will return this night, from the island "of Orleans, to this camp. Colonel Howe will take his "former post. Anstruther's, Otway's, and Lascelles's will "incamp on their proper ground. Great care to be taken by "the regiments within their respective incampments, and in "their neighbourhood, that all offals and filth of every kind, "that might taint the air, be buried deep under ground. The "General recommends, in the strongest manner, to the Com- "manders of corps, to have their camps kept sweet and clean; "strict inquiry to be made in this camp, at the Point of "Orleans, and the Point of Levi, concerning the suttlers and "followers of the army, and who are known to sell liquors "that intoxicate the men, that they may be forthwith dis- "missed, and sent on board their ships. The regiments are "not to call in their working par- [352] ties this evening, "as they must exert themselves to finish the business of this "post, that farther operations may take place. Two hundred

[1] General Wolfe made this entry under the date of the 29th: "It seems better to receive the Enemy superior in numbers, with the advantage of a small Intrenchment, than to attack them behind their Lines, with such a Body of Troops as can be landed at once, & by so doing put all to the Hazard of one action: a Party sent to act upon a hazardous & most important service —determined to execute that design—if it appears upon examination to be practicable."—*Journal.* On this day Wolfe added a codicil to his will.

Codicil Camp of Montmorency
29th July 1759 —

When I made my Will, I did not exactly know the situation of my affairs — the following additions therefore to the Legacies shall be made. I give a thousand Pounds to Major Walter Wolfe, and a thousand Pounds to Captain Edward Goldsmith.

Jam: Wolfe

Witnesses
Thos Smyth
Isaac Barré

CODICIL TO WOLFE'S WILL

"men of the Royal American battalion, with their blankets, 1759. July.
"and two days' provisions ready dressed, to be in readiness
"below at the Cove, by eight in the morning, to imbark in
"four flat-bottomed boats; this detachment is intended to
"reinforce the companies of grenadiers, if there should be
"occasion; these boats are to row up with the flood (but out
"of cannon-shot) till they come opposite the upper redoubt,
"where they must lie upon their oars, and wait for farther
"orders. Anstruther's regiment, the light infantry, and
"rangers, are to march, at nine o'clock, under Colonel Howe's
"command, about a mile into the woods, towards the ford
"where the Canadians and Indians are incamped; this body
"must shift, just within the wood, from the camp of the light
"infantry to the road, but so, as barely to be seen, from the
"opposite side of the river, by the enemy. As Major Hussey's
"corps have been up most part of the night, they are to be
"left to guard the camp of the light infantry; Colonel Howe
"will lengthen his line of march, so as to appear numerous.
"The remaining battalions will get under arms, when the
"water begins to ebb, in readiness to cross the ford, if there
"should be an absolute necessity for so doing; in the mean
"time they will continue their work with all possible dili-
"gence and assiduity. If ships can be brought near enough
"to operate, and the wind is fair, an attack will be made on
"one of the enemy's most detached works; in aid of which
"attack, the artillery from hence must be employed. Brigadier-
"General Townshend will be pleased to give such directions,
"as he thinks most for the service, upon this head. In general,
"the cannon are not to be fired, nor even brought up to fire,
"till it is visible, by the motions of the ships, that the attack
"will be made; if the day is very hot, and no wind, this
"operation cannot take place. If the battalions should march,
"Colonel Howe must return to his camp, in the most secret
"manner; the marines must [353] be thrown into the two
"redoubts. When Lascelles's regiment takes post, the re-

1759. July. "maining part of the Americans into the great redoubt; Cap- "tain Hazen's company into the fortified house; Anstruther's "and the light infantry will be ready to join the army. When "Captain Cowart's detachment is not wanted with the artil- "lery, forty of his men are to be put into the little redoubt "near his camp, and the rest in the great redoubt on the "hill."[1]

Our batteries fire, almost incessantly, on the town, both day and night; the wind is still favourable for ships to pass into the upper river, though little of it. An expedition of great consequence is talked of, for which the chosen detachments from the several regiments are said to be reserved.

30th. The grenadiers of this brigade embarked last night, and proceeded to the west Point of Orleans. At nine o'clock this morning the regiments at Point Levi were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; a signal was made for all Masters of transports to repair on board of their Agent: in consequence whereof it is said, that all the transports' boats are to be manned, in order to make a feint, and thereby divide the enemy's attention, while the army are to endeavour to penetrate into the French camp, between Beauport and the Fall. Every seaman is to be armed with a musket, cartouch-box, pistol, and cutlass. Very hot work at our batteries to-day, and about two o'clock the enemy gave them a round from every gun they could bring to bear upon them, after being silent for a long time before: we bombarded the town last night from sun-set until sun-rise this morning. The army are in very high spirits, from the confidence they have in their General Officers, and the great unanimity which happily prevails among them. Several shells were thrown at the Centurion and others of our fleet in the channel, but had no

[1] The orders for the attack at Montmorency seem to have caused dissatisfaction among the general officers and others, although Wolfe says that nothing better was proposed by them.

effect: most of them bursted in the air, before they made the distance. Sultry weather for several days past, wind variable and scant. 1759. July.

[354] "ORDERS.

"Camp at Montmorency.

"—— The troops are to hold themselves in readiness "to-morrow, to execute the orders of yesterday."

Eight o'clock.—The troops at Point Levi were ordered to be ready to imbark immediately, boats coming from the fleet for this purpose. Nine o'clock.—Ordered, that the 15th and 78th regiments with Brigadier-General Monckton be ready to imbark: the 43d and 48th, light infantry under Major Dalling, and the marines remain here to defend our batteries and redoubts. Ten o'clock.—The Louisbourg grenadiers, with those of the 15th, 43d, 48th, and 78th, a detachment of the Royal Americans, the two regiments before-mentioned, and Brigadier Monckton, imbarked, rendezvoused at the point of Orleans, put off immediately, and remained half-channel over, waiting for farther orders. The detachments of chosen men, with an Officer of each regiment, who have been in readiness, since the evening of the 27th, for a particular service, were this day countermanded. Eleven o'clock.—Two armed transport-cats*, drawing little water, worked over, and grounded a-breast of the Point de Lest, westward of the fall of Montmorency. A smart cannonading ensued between those ships (supported by Admiral Saunders in the Centurion) and a detached battery which the enemy opposed to defend 31st.

* Lieutenant William Garnier, of the Van-Guard, commanded the cat nearest in shore, in which he displayed great bravery and steadiness. I have not the pleasure to know the gentleman's name who commanded the other; he behaved with equal honour, but Garnier's vessel was more exposed to the enemy's fire, small arms as well as musketry.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] The other cat probably belonged to the *Russell.*

1759. July. the fording-place at the foot of the water-fall,[1] and lasted near two hours: at the same time our batteries on the eminence to the eastward briskly enfiladed the enemy's works at the left extremity of their camp, and also their detached battery and redoubt on the beach below.

[355] The following orders were left with the Commanding Officer at Point Levi.

"ORDERS.

"Sir—inclosed you have some signals and instructions "which you will take care to observe, and, should you be "ordered from hence, you will be pleased to leave them with "the next Officer in command. I am, &c.

"JOHN SPITTAL, Brigade-Major."

"To Colonel James of the 43d regiment.

"Signals that may be made by the army when on shore, "in wanting of troops, stores, or provisions, &c. as under-"mentioned.

For what wanted.	Signals by day.	Signals by night.
Reinforcements	Union flag	Sky-rockets repeated
Provisions	Yellow pendant	Three lights over each other
Tools	Yellow flag	One light
Artillery	Blue flag	Three lights a-breast
Flat-bottomed boats	Red flag	Three lights in a triangle

"When I repeat any of the signals above-mentioned, you "are to send all your boats on board here, except when I make "the last, and you are then immediately to send all your flat-"bottomed boats, to make the best of their way to the troops "below the Fall of Montmorency. Any ship that sees any of "the above signals made on shore, if I do not immediately

[1] For the position of this ford see the plan.

"answer them, is to repeat them, if he can; or send a boat to "acquaint me with them. And, if ammunition is wanted, a "red flag, with a yellow pendant over it, will be hoisted by "day; and four lights, one over the other, by night.—A red "flag upon the main top-gallant-mast head of one of the cats "is a signal for Brigadier Monckton to join. [356] A blue "and white stripped flag at the top, for Brigadier Townshend "to pass the Ford." 1759. July.

(Twelve o'clock.)

The 43d regiment ordered to be ready at a moment's warning*. Weather extremely hot. The enemy throw shells at the troops (to little purpose) who are in their boats half channel over. Two corps of the enemy, one regulars, the other militia, made a motion towards the rear of their left, as if they intended to cross the river of Montmorency at the upper Ford, and march into General Wolfe's camp; whereupon the 48th regiment received orders to march immediately up the country some miles to the westward of our batteries, and then to strike into the woods, and return to their camp, as much undiscovered as possible; this had the desired effect, for the two French battalions also returned from the upper Ford, crossed the river Charles, and marched up towards Sillery, to watch the motions of the 48th regiment.

(Three o'clock.)

Colonel James received an order from General Wolfe, that the 43d, and 48th regiments, and Major Dalling's light infantry, do hold themselves in readiness to embark, the moment boats may arrive for them; that these corps are to leave proper guards to take care of their camps, who, with the marines, are to have charge of this important post; and the Colonel is desired to remain in command, until farther orders.

* Colonel James and Major Elliott agreed and ordered, that the regiment should embark, land, and fight by companies under their own Officers, which afforded the highest satisfaction to the soldiers; this method, on a service of this nature, does not admit of confusion.—*Note by author.*

1759. July.

(Four o'clock.)

The Centurion, and the two armed cats, renewed a very brisk fire on the enemy's detached works.

(Half past four o'clock.)

A heavy cannonading now from every quarter.

[357] (Five o'clock.)

Very gloomy weather; some of the boats, in attempting to land, struck upon some ledges, which retarded our operations;[1] and, by the enemy's shot and shells, the boats were a little confused; the enemy abandoned the right of their camp, and, with their whole army, lined their intrenchments from the center to the left.

(Half past five o'clock.)

The first division of the troops, consisting of all the grenadiers of the army, made a second attempt, landed at the Point de Lest, and obliged the enemy to abandon the detached battery, and redoubt, below the precipice*: by this time the troops to the eastward of the Fall were in motion to join, and support the attack; but the grenadiers, impatient to acquire glory, would not wait for any reinforcements, but ran up the hill, and made many efforts, though not with the greatest regularity, to gain the summit, which they found less practicable than had been expected: in this situation they received a general discharge of musketry from the enemy's breastworks, which was continued without any return; our brave fellows nobly reserving their fire, until they could reach the top of the precipice, which was inconceivably steep; to persevere any longer they found now to little purpose; their ardour was checked by the repeated heavy fire of the enemy, and, as if conscious of their mistake, the natural consequence of their impetuosity, they retired in disorder (in spite of the most unparalleled valour and good conduct, on the part of their

[1] The position of the stranded boats is shown on the maps.

* They *pretended* it was the want of ammunition that obliged them to desert these works under the hill.—*Note by author.*

Officers) and took shelter in the redoubt and battery on the beach, where Brigadier Monckton's corps were now landed and formed; those under Brigadiers Townshend and Murray being also at hand, ready to sustain their friends. The General, seeing the situation of affairs, night drawing on a-pace, and the ammunition of the army damaged with the dreadfullest [358] thunder-storm[1] and fall of rain that can be conceived, sent to stop Brigadier Townshend, and ordered Brigadier Monckton to reimbark his division, and the scattered corps of grenadiers, in the best manner he could, the flat-bottomed boats being at hand for that purpose. The enemy did not attempt to pursue; their ammunition must undoubtedly have shared the same fate with our own, for the violence of the storm exceeded any description I can attempt to give of it. 1759. July.

A few Indians came down to scalp some of our wounded on the beach.

> *Upon this occasion it was, that Lieutenant Henry Peyton, of the Royal Americans, displayed so much gallantry; for he, being at the same time badly wounded, raised himself up, and with his double-barrelled fusil killed two of those barbarians, one after the other, before they could execute their inhuman practice; and must then have fallen a sacrifice to others, but that Providence, willing to reward so much merit, threw an honest Highlander in his way, who happily took him up, and laid him in the bow of one of the boats, then ready to put off.*[2]

[1] All the journals refer to the severity of this storm. One French diarist says, however, "Our salvation, that day, was a thunderstorm which came on at the moment of the attack, and all the more opportunely, since we were out of powder and bullets, and that we had, for a long time, been without matches for the guns, which were firing by means of a musket-pan."—*Siège de Québec en* 1759, *d'après un Manuscrit déposé à la Bibliothèque de Hartwell* (Quebec, 1836).

[2] At the engagement on the 31st, Captain David Ochterloney of the Royal Americans was wounded in the lungs on the beach at Montmorency. About

1759. July. By the excellent disposition which Brigadier Monckton made on the beach, after he had collected all the troops that were on shore, he reimbarked them without farther loss, bringing away as many of the wounded as he could come at; and the army returned to their respective camps. As the tide had left the armed cats dry, the Admiral sent orders to have the Officers and men taken out, and the hulks burned, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, to whom they might be serviceable on some future occasion. The loss of our forces this day, killed, wounded, and missing, including all ranks, amounted to four hundred and forty-three; among whom were two Captains and two Lieutenants slain on the spot; one Colonel *, six Captains, nineteen Lieutenants, and three Ensigns wounded.[1]

[359] The enemy suffered most from our batteries on the eminences to the eastward, having, as I was afterwards

the same time Ensign Peyton of this regiment was shot through the legs and fell near his brother officer. The retreat of the British was so hasty that they had not time to attend to the wounded. A Highlander passing to the boats saw them and proposed to carry them off. Ochterloney refused on the ground that he could not leave the field after such a repulse, and Peyton declined to leave his friend. The Highlander thereupon sought the boats. In the meantime Peyton was attacked by an Indian, but after a desperate struggle he managed to stab his assailant. An hour after a soldier of the Regiment of Guienne picked up the unconscious Ochterloney and conveyed him to the General Hospital, while Captain Macdonald, who had returned to look after the wounded, succeeded in getting Peyton to the boats. Two days afterwards the French sent an officer under a flag of truce requesting that the effects of Captain Ochterloney be sent to him at the General Hospital. Wolfe sent a reward of £20 to the soldier who had picked him up, but the money was returned. Ochterloney died on August 23, and Wolfe wrote to the Directress, Madame de Ramezay, that if fortune made him master of Quebec he would protect her community. (There are many accounts of the Ochterloney incident: see, *e.g.*, *Memoirs of the Quartermaster-Sergeant*, in *Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. pp. 90–92.)

* Burton of the 48th regiment.—*Note by author.*

[1] See "List of Officers Killed and Wounded," in Appendix. James Gibson, in his letters to Governor Lawrence dated August 1, says that Lieutenant Matheson of Lascelles's regiment was the only officer killed on the field. Doubtless Captain Ochterloney would be included in the reports.

informed, at Quebec, near two hundred men and Officers killed and disabled. 1759. July.

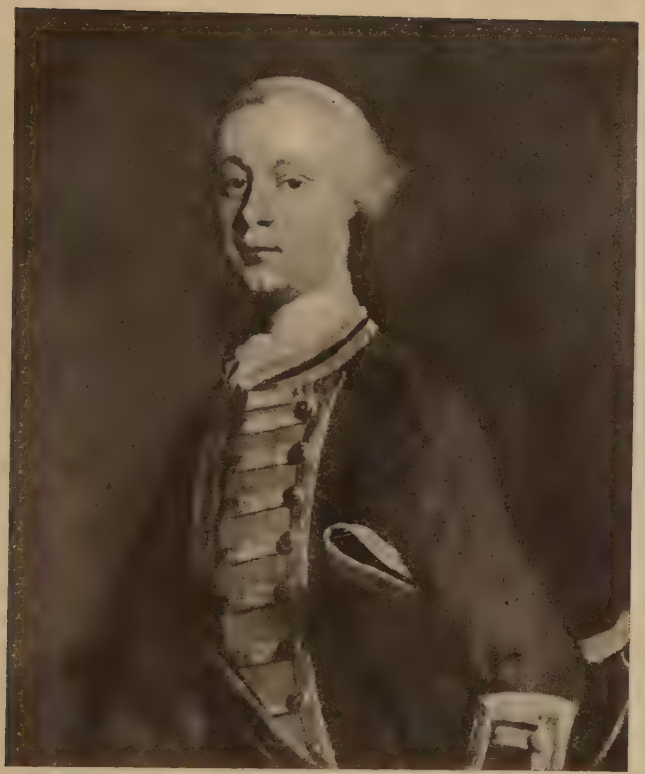
The object of this day's operations was to penetrate into the enemy's camp, and force them to a battle, in hopes, as their army (though infinitely superior in numbers) consisted mostly of militia and peasants, they would have yielded an easy victory to our regular forces; and notwithstanding the variety of difficulties we had to encounter with, such as intrenchments, traverses, redoubts, and fortified houses, that were loaded with swivels and other small pieces of field artillery (almost innumerable) it is more than probable we would have carried our point (though with great loss) had it not been for a chain of concurrent circumstances that defeated the General's plan and expectations: to enumerate these may seem necessary.—The obstruction our boats met with in their first attempt to land, by which much time was lost, occasioned by a ledge of rocks extending along the north shore, from the right to the left of the front of their camp; the storm of uncommon heavy rain, that not only damaged our powder, but rendered the precipices * to the enemy's works so slippery, as to become impossible for men to ascend them; these, together with the ill-timed zeal of our grenadiers, who, regardless of discipline and the commands of their Officers, were eager to distinguish themselves under a man, of whom they, and indeed the soldiery in general, had the highest opinion and confidence:—to which I may subjoin the retreat of the tide, then more than half ebb; and the hasty approaching night, beginning to expand her dreary wings, with a farther prospect of unfavourable weather. Besides all these, other circumstances there are not less deserving attention; for, had we succeeded, the river Charles remained afterwards to be crossed, before we could invest the garrison; and the French army would probably

* At the foot of their parapet on the summit, were felled trees laid for some yards down the slope, by which they became still more inaccessible.—*Note by author.*

1759. July. have occupied [360] the high ground behind it, and intrenched there: our army was already greatly diminished, and would have been considerably more so, if the General had persevered; all which deterring incidents, critically concurring, prevailed on his Excellency to withdraw his troops, and give up the project for the present.[1]

[1] At the time Wolfe planned the assault on Montmorency he seems to have been despondent. He had been before Quebec for over a month and had failed to tempt Montcalm to an encounter. Even ultimate success appeared doubtful. From his *Journal* it is evident that an attack above the town was always in his mind; but he received no encouragement either from the Admiral or from his general officers at this time. Even after he had decided upon the descent at Montmorency there was no enthusiasm on the part of the officers, though each carried out his instructions faithfully. Carleton, his particular friend, seems also to have been his critic, for Captain Bell speaks of the "abominable behaviour of Col. Carleton towards the general." Wolfe had some criticism to make of the fleet which he erased from his letter to Pitt. Wolfe's plan, in brief, was to attack one of the redoubts on the beach, believing that the enemy would descend to defend it. In this way he might bring on a general engagement. This, he thought at the time, was the one chance of success. The scheme was well thought out, but badly executed through the blunders of the naval officers in miscalculating the tide. One body was to cross the ford at Montmorency and another was to be rowed over partly from Orleans and partly from Lévis, to assist in a general assault. On land there was to be marching and counter-marching to draw the attention of the enemy from the object of attack. Two vessels had been run in near the shore at high tide, to protect the landing opposite the redoubt, but they swerved round and their fire was useless. The *Centurion*, anchored some distance below the falls, slipped her cable and was put out of service. More unfortunate still were the small boats conveying the troops from Lévis, which stranded in the shallows in mid-stream, exposing the troops to a heavy fire from the land for nearly three hours. When at last the men got off they made a mad rush for the redoubt, which they carried, and pushed forward to scale the heights beyond without waiting for support. Consequently they were beaten back. By this time it was getting dark, and a thunderstorm rendered all operations difficult. When Wolfe called a halt his force had been reduced by nearly five hundred men. The draft of Wolfe's letter to Pitt describing the failure of the attempt on July 31 was evidently submitted to the officers, and certain changes in it were made by Wolfe at the instance of Admiral Saunders. Wolfe appears to have been willing to accept the responsibility for the disaster, as may be seen by his letter to Saunders:

"I did not see the letter you did me the honour to write till just now, nor indeed could I have answered it before if Major Barré had shewn it me. I shall leave out that part of my letter to Mr. Pitt which you object to, although



JAMES WOLFE

From the painting by Highmore in the possession of J. Scobell Armstrong, Nancealverne, Penzance

I shall now take a view of the operations of the army under the Commander in Chief, where we shall find our friends have their share in the great choice of obstacles, which everywhere appear in the reduction of this province. 1759. July.

the matter of fact, to the best of my recollection, is strictly as I have stated it. I am sensible of my own errors in the course of the campaign; see clearly wherein I have been deficient; and think a little more or less blame to a man that must necessarily be ruined, of little or no consequence. If you had recollected the purport of my letter, you would not have found 'that it throws any difficulties I met with in landing on the two catts not being placed so as to annoy the two small batteries with their great guns.' On the contrary the catts did annoy the upper battery with their great guns and performed that part of the service as well as could be expected, and yet that upper battery was not abandoned by the enemy, but continued firing till the grenadiers ran, like blockheads, up to it. However, its fire was of no consequence, and not worth mentioning, nor the least impediment to landing. Mr. Cook said he believed the catts could be carried within 40 or 50 yards of the redoubts. I told him at the time that I would readily compound for 150 or 200 yards, which would have been near enough had the upper redoubt been as far from the enemy's entrenchments as it appeared from our camp to be, and had I judged it advisable to attack it with a view to lodge in it, which I did not upon seeing it was too much commanded. You will please to consider the difference between landing at high water with four companies of Grenadiers to attack a redoubt under the protection of the artillery of a vessel and landing part of an army to attack the enemy's entrenchments. For the last business a junction of our corps was necessary; and to join, the water must fall a certain degree. I gave up the first point (that of the redoubt) upon finding my mistake as to the distance from the entrenchment, and determined upon the latter, which I always had in view, upon observing the enemy's disorder, and remarking their situation much better then I ever could do before. The fire of the lower redoubt was so smart during the time that we were on board the Russel (I think it was) that as neither her guns nor the guns of the other catt could be brought to bear against it, I thought fit to order the Grenadiers out of her, by which I saved many lives. I was no less than three times struck with the splinters in that ship, and had my stick knocked out of my hand with a cannon-ball while I was on board reconnoitring the position and movements of the enemy; and yet you say in your letter they did (the catts) great execution against the two small batteries, and on your first landing you did not lose a man.

"With regard to the Centurion I am ready to do justice to Captain Mantle; but I am very sure, whatever his merits may be, the approbation would be more to the purpose coming from you than from me. In reality the position of the ship was in consequence of your orders, and I am sure that, if you could have placed the whole fleet so as to have been useful to us, you would have done it. The Centurion had no enemy to encounter, her position was assigned,

1759. July. The army under Major-General Amherst, Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America, consisting of the 1st, 17th, 27th, 42d, 55th, and 77th regiments of regulars, and the 80th of light armed infantry; with those of Scuyler, Lyman, Ruggles, Whiting, Worcester, Fitch, Babcock,[1] Lovewell,[2] and Willard, provincials; a body of rangers and Indians, with a respectable detachment of the royal train of artillery, under Major Ord; (the rest of the army being detached, as will be hereafter mentioned, whereof the greatest part are under Brigadier-General Prideaux, including a corps of Indians under Sir William Johnson, who are to proceed up the Mohawk river, thence to Niagara; and the remainder, under Brigadier-General Stanwix, destined to the westward, towards Pittsburg, &c. with each a party of artillery and light troops) were as early in motion as the season of the year would admit.——Before I proceed to particularise, it will be necessary to communicate to the reader some general orders, distributed to the army, antecedent to their movements.

and her guns were fired judiciously. The fire of that ship, and of the four-gun battery near the water side, together with the want of ammunition, kept the lower battery silent for a time, but yet we received many shots from that battery at landing; and Brigadier Townshend's Corps was fired upon particularly in returning over the ford, though with little damage. . . . The great fault of that day consists in putting too many men into boats, who might have been landed the day before, and might have crossed the ford with certainty, while a small body remained afloat; and the superfluous boats of the fleet employed in a feint that might divide the enemy's force. A man sees his errors often too late to remedy. My ill state of health hinders me from executing my own plan; it is of too desperate a nature to order others to execute. The Generals seem to think alike as to the operations, I therefore join with them, and perhaps we may find some opportunity to strike a blow."—Quoted in Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 548, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1801.

[1] Colonel Henry Babcock was born in 1736. He served in the Rhode Island Provincials, 1755 to 1759. He was in command of the Rhode Island Regiment under Amherst. He died in 1800.

[2] Zaccheus Lovewell, of Dunstable, New Hampshire, was born July 22, 1701. He was a brother of John Lovewell, famous as an Indian fighter, who fell in the battle of Paquawket in 1725.

Albany, May 5, 1759.

"Colonel Prideaux[1] is appointed to serve as Brigadier- 1759. July. May. 5th.
"General, and to be obeyed as such. Colonel Townshend[2]
"and Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst[3] are Deputy Adjutant-
"Generals; Captains D'arcy,[4] Prescot,[5] and Abercromby, Aids
"de Camp to the Commander in [361] Chief; Captains
"Moneypenny and Harvey, Majors of brigade. The grenadiers
"and light infantry of all the battalions will be formed in
"corps a-part during the campaign: those companies to be
"always complete. The battalions are at all times to be told
"off in four grand divisions, eight subdivisions, and sixteen
"platoons; and this must be done without breaking the com-
"panies, if the numbers will nearly be equal, except in the
"platoons, that each company must be subdivided to form
"two platoons. The Officers will be posted, as much as the
"service will permit, to the companies they belong to; they
"will take fusils, no sashes, but gorgets, either swords or
"hangers, as the Commanding Officers of battalions shall
"direct. The regiments to take their colours into the field;
"the Serjeants to carry firelocks instead of halberts,[6] with
"cartouch-box and bayonet, instead of sword; the soldiers no
"sword, nor sword-belt, if they can carry their bayonet securely
"without them; one Drummer per company; the remaining
"Drummers to be put into the ranks. The grenadiers to take
"their swords and caps into the field: no women to be per-

[1] Brigadier-General Prideaux arrived at Albany from New York on May 15 and left for Schenectady.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Roger Townshend, with the rank of Colonel in America. He was brother of the Brigadier-General Townshend serving with Wolfe at Quebec.

[3] William Amherst, brother of the General, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel on November 24, 1759. He held the position of Deputy Adjutant-General in America.

[4] Captain Peter D'Arcy was appointed Captain in the 47th Regiment of Foot on January 11, 1758.

[5] Robert Prescott, appointed Captain in the 15th (Amherst's own) Regiment on January 22, 1755.

[6] See p. 350, note.

1759. (July 31st.) "mitted to go with the regiments, or to follow. The Royal "Highland regiment and the 77th (Highlanders) are excepted "in the order of no swords: the Commanding Officer of each "of those regiments may do as he thinks best. The regi-
May. "ments to practise marching by files from the center to the "front, to halt and face outwards, march by files as before, "and form in battalion. Platoons for the front and flanks, if "ordered out;—fourth platoon from the right, and eighth "platoon from the left of the battalion, shall be front, &c. "flank platoons to the left. Whenever the battalion is on "the march to the right, rear, and flank platoons, the fourth "platoon from the left, and the eighth from the right of the "battalion, shall be rear and flank platoons, if ordered out; "and are to march on the left of the battalion whenever the "battalion is on the march by the left; and on the right also, "when the battalion marches to the right. Three ox-carts for "the suttlers will be allowed to the regiments of one thousand, "and two to the [362] regiments of seven hundred; the "suttlers to provide what may be wanted to complete their "numbers in New England, and not to interfere with any that "are intended for the King's service.

"Commanding Officers of corps are particularly to acquaint "their men, that the General hopes no man will be so dis-"honest or so foolish at present as to desert, as the operations "of the campaign cannot but be attended with success; that, "wherever they go to, they will certainly be taken; and the "General is determined not to shew any mercy *to any one man* "*that can be such a scoundrel as to desert his King and country* "*during the campaign.* The ox-teams, as ordered for the regi-"ments, must be marked and numbered, or they will not be "permitted to pass. The several regiments are directly to "settle their accounts of portions, as allowed to the Officers by "an order of the 17th of January; which proportion is to "cease on the first of this month, from which every Officer is "to receive one portion only. As no women are permitted

"to go with the regiments, four per company of the regiments 1759.
"of one thousand men, and three per company of the regi- (July 31st.)
"ments of seven hundred men, may receive provisions at
"Albany; a list of the said women to be signed by the Com-
"manding Officer of the regiment, and sent to the Major of May.
"brigade, who will give in their names to the Matron of the
"hospital, that she may call for them for the service of the
"hospital; which if they refuse, when wanted, they are to
"be immediately struck off their allowance. A return of the
"volunteers, with their time of service, to be immediately
"given in to the Deputy Adjutant-General: all these Gentle-
"men are to serve with the light infantry. A weekly allow-
"ance of provisions for one person, &c. (See a note on
"rations, under the 8th of August, 1757.)

"When the troops receive fresh meat, each man is to have
"one pound of beef for the day, and to receive from the
"contractor one pound of flour; a receipt is to be given. A
"bullock's head is to be issued for eight pounds of beef; a
"tongue for three pounds; a [363] heart for its weight. In
"all provision receipts, the number of persons, with the days
"they are victualled for, are to be wrote in words at length,
"and not in figures; and, if the contractor's clerks do not
"deliver the full allowance above-mentioned, a receipt only
"for the quantity of provisions delivered is to be given,
"mentioning the different species received from them. No
"suttlers belonging to the army are to take any rum, except
"by an order in writing from the Commanding Officer of the
"regiment, who is permitted to take what he shall think abso-
"lutely necessary for the use of the regiment, specifying, in
"his order to the suttler, the quantity and the marks of the
"cask that it is in: no other suttler shall be permitted to take
"any rum into the field. The Officers, commanding at all
"the posts, are to seize all rum, except such as goes in the
"King's stores, or with the suttlers of the regiment, as per-
"mitted by the above order. A Subaltern and thirty men of

1759. (July 31st.) "the Royal Highlanders to parade to-morrow morning at four "o'clock precisely, to escort artillery and ammunition to the "half-way house on the road to Schenectady: a detachment "from the fourth battalion of Royal Americans will relieve May. "the said detachment, and escort the artillery, &c. from thence "to Schenectady. When any of the troops, either regulars or "provincials, are employed as artificers, or labourers, on any "works during the campaign, they shall be paid for the same "at the following rates:—all artificers per day one shilling "and three-pence, New-York currency; to Mortar-makers, "and other labouring works of that kind, one shilling; other "labouring works in building storehouses, hospitals, or "barracks, ninepence; for all other works of retrenchments, "&c. which are the duty of the soldier, and never paid, they "shall have a jill of rum per man. The accounts of the "several workmen must be regularly kept by the Commanding "Officers, when any work is carried on: from which accounts "only the men will receive their wages. The troops, when "serving on the batteau-service, shall be paid at the following "rates for the said service: each Captain shall receive four "shillings [364] per day, each Subaltern two shillings, and "every Non-Commissioned Officer and private man one "shilling per day; the whole New-York currency: and the "men shall have rum given them, as the service may require, "and circumstances will permit. The Commanding Officer "of any parties, ordered on this service, is to keep a list of the "names of the men, the companies they belong to, and the "days they work: which list he is to certify, and give into the "Major of brigade, who will deliver it to the Deputy Quarter-"Master-General, that it may be paid. When a regiment, or "any part, is going from one camp or quarter to another, and "that they take batteaus and provisions with them, that is not "to be reckoned as a service to be paid: they are only to be "paid, when sent on purpose for the batteau-service. The "orders of the 5th of May, relative to desertion, to be read

"to the provincial troops; for which purpose the Officers, 1759. (July 31st.)
"commanding those regiments, will have their men under
"arms, and read the same to them: and to assure the men,
"that the General is as determined not to pardon any one
"deserter from any of the troops during the campaign, as he May
"is to reward the men to the utmost of his power, when their
"good behaviour deserves it. As waggons are now wanted
"for the service of the troops, all suttlers, merchants, &c. that
"have passes to follow the army, are, for the future, to make
"use of only ox-carts, in the same manner as regimental
"suttlers, orders having been sent to the different posts to
"stop all waggons. The following detachments to be made
"from the provincial troops: they are to be proper men for

"Provinces.	Numbers.			
	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Rank & file.
"Connecticut . . .	2	7	10	240
"Massachusets . . .	1	4	5	120
"New Jerseys . . .	1	3	4	104
"Rhode Island . . .	1	1	2	54
Total . .	5	15	21	518

"the batteau-service. [365] This detachment is to parade
"to-morrow morning (May the 29th) on the road, on the
"right of the Rhode island troops, and wait till Major Money-
"penny sees them march off.

"They are to take their arms, a proportion of camp-
"necessaries, and as many days' provisions as they have re-
"ceived, with them. Three waggons will be allowed for the
"Connecticut troops, two for the Massachusets, two for the
"Jerseys, and one for the Rhode island, for carrying their
"tents, &c. on sending to Lieutenant Coventry, Assistant
"Deputy-Quarter-Master-General.[1] This detachment is to

[1] Probably George Coventry, appointed Lieutenant in the 55th Regiment on July 24, 1758.

1759. (July 31st.) "remain out, perhaps, some months, and the Officers and men, "when employed as batteau-men, will be paid as per order, "&c. This detachment to march to-morrow to Schenectady, "&c. &c. All the provincial troops are to provide them-
May. "selves immediately with every thing they may have occasion "for, that they may be ready to march on the first notice." A corporal and a private man (whose names are mentioned in the orders) both of the Rhode island regiment, condemned by sentence of a General Court-martial for desertion, the General was pleased to pardon the former; the other was executed: the Royal Highlanders, Massachusets, New Jerseys, Connecticut, and Rhode island troops, all under the command of Brigadier Gage, were ordered to attend the execution. "All the provincial regiments to be drawn up without arms "in the front of the several incampments, at one o'clock. "The Commanding Officers are to have returns ready of their "numbers now here, and those they expect to join them, "which they will give to the General."

"The Rhode island regiment will march to-morrow morn-"ing (May the 31st) for Fort Edward; they will strike their "tents at five o'clock; their baggage is to proceed by water; "for which purpose they will apply to Colonel Broadstreet for "batteaus: they will likewise take up twenty batteaus laden "with provisions, which they are to load this evening: the "regiment to be completed with six days' provisions. The "Royal Highland regiment to be relieved this evening by the "provincial troops, and march to-morrow, (June the 1st) "[366] at five o'clock to Halfmoon,[1] where they will take the "artillery under their care, and escort the same to Fort "Edward: a waggon per company, one for the Commanding "Officer, and one for the Staff, will be allowed: the regiment "to take six days' provisions with them. The Massachuset

[1] A post on the west side of the Hudson between Albany and Fort Lidius. See Montcalm's plan in Appendix.

"troops are to take batteaus this afternoon at three o'clock, 1759. (July 31st.)
"and load them with provisions, reserving a proper number
"for their tents and baggage, which they will put in batteaus
"to-morrow morning at five o'clock, and proceed to Fort
"Edward: they are to take nine days' provisions with them.
"Colonel Ruggles will leave careful Officers here (at Albany) May.
"to bring up those men that he expects to join. Major Ord
"to put the artillery and stores in the scows this evening,
"which are to proceed to-morrow morning to Halfmoon, and
"to be escorted to Fort Edward, as above. The regiments of
"Lyman, Fitch, and Scuyler to be ready to march on the
"first notice. Colonels Lyman and Fitch to appoint proper
"Officers to remain here, to bring up those men which are left
"behind of these regiments."

The whole month of May has been necessarily taken up in preparations for the campaign by the lakes; the provincial troops rendezvoused at Albany, and incamped as fast as they joined. General Amherst arrived there on the 12th,[1] and ordered the regular troops forward, to take post on the road leading to Fort Edward, distant fifty-six miles from Albany. There is a good navigation for batteaus, &c. for thirty-six miles of the way.

A detachment of the army, composed of Regulars, Light 29th.
Infantry, Provincials, and Rangers, moved forward, and took post a few miles on the lake side of the camp at Fort Edward, and there constructed a small stockaded Fort, with two bastions and a moat. This service was performed by Major West[2] of the 55th regiment. The General marched to Fort Edward in the beginning of June, and left Brigadier Gage at Albany to

[1] On May 21 Amherst sent to Boston a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor to try to get three hundred men to be sent to General Wolfe as pioneers. On the 30th he received word that his application had been successful, and that the three hundred Provincials "would be embarked directly as some transports were come in there going to Louisbourg."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 212, pp. 8, 9.

[2] George West, appointed Major of the 55th Regiment, November, 1755.

1759. (July 31st.) bring up the remainder of the army, who were employed in batteauing up provisions, artillery stores, &c. This [367] work was attended with great difficulty, the river being uncommonly high, and the current so rapid, that, instead of setting, which is much less laborious, they were obliged to May. have recourse to rowing. The greatest part of the train being left at Fort Edward at the close of the last campaign, the rest from Albany with the troops arrived there by the 12th of June, and incamped in the following order; first brigade, Royal on the right; 27th on the left; the 55th in the center. Second brigade, 42d on the right, (left of the 27th) 17th on June. the left, 77th in the center. Provincials, New Jerseys on the right, (left of the 17th regiment) Massachusets on the left: Connecticut on the right, next to the Jerseys: New Hampshire on the left, (right of Massachusets:) Rhode Island's in the center, (left of Connecticut's.) The grenadiers and light infantry were formed into two battalions a-part, and incamped separately, observing the seniority of their regiments to which they belonged. The foregoing disposition of the battalions, regular and provincial, was the order of battle, appointed by the Commander in Chief.[1]

"ORDERS.

8th. "Spruce-beer will soon be brewed for the army, it is "hoped, sufficient for the whole, and will cost the men but "a very moderate price. All suttlers, who have passes, and "are not attached to regiments, are to be incamped together

[1] "The Return of the Regiments of Provincials this day in Camp is 2550 men. of those not come up belonging to the Regiments in Camp 2025. besides Col. Worcester's & Col. Whiting's Regts of the Connecticut Troops, all the New Hampshire Troops, 1500 of the Massachusetts, and 1000 of the Connecticut are yet to joyn, this is the state of the Provincial Troops this day exclusive of the New York Troops which as they were the first arrived I allotted to the Corps under the command of Br General Prideaux."—*Amherst's Journal*, May 30 (*Canadian Archives*, M. 212, p. 10).

"on the ground the Deputy-Quarter-Master-General will mark 1759.
"out for them at one o'clock this day: which ground is to (July 31st.)
"be the center of the army, and a market to be kept there
"for selling whatever these suttlers may bring for the use of
"the camp. The Provost's guard shall incamp there to keep
"good order, &c. &c.

June.

"The light infantry of the Royal Highlanders are to 9th.
"practise firing ball to-morrow morning at six o'clock, near
"the Royal Blockhouse on the other side of the river; the
"camp not to be alarmed. It is a standing order, that no
"dropping shots are fired; whenever there are any firelocks
"that cannot be drawn, a report is to be made [368] thereof,
"that they may be collected together, and fired off, when the
"camp is advertised of it, that there may be no unnecessary
"alarms; *the Indians to be particularly acquainted with this*
"*order, which if they disobey, they shall be severely punished.*
"Divine service to be performed every Sunday at the head
"of the regiments.

"As by the order of the 8th it was said, that spruce-beer 10th.
"would be brewed for the army, it is not thereby intended to
"hinder any people from brewing spruce-beer; all suttlers are
"at liberty to brew as much as they will. A Subaltern and
"twenty men from the light infantry companies of the two
"Highland regiments, with six rangers, to assemble to-morrow
"morning at six o'clock, to escort corn to Major West's post.

"Each regiment will make a path to their front, for their 11th.
"picquets to advance, whenever they may be ordered; the
"General will shew the Commanding Officers where he will
"have their picquets advance to; and, in case of any alarm
"in the night, and that the regiments should be ordered out,
"no regiment is on any account whatsoever to fire a shot from
"their line; the picquets will be ordered out, and they will
"be supported. Spruce-beer is to be brewed for the health
"and convenience of the troops; five quarts of molasses will
"be put into every barrel of spruce-beer, which will be served

1759. (July 31st.) "at prime cost; each gallon will cost nearly three coppers*, "&c. &c. The picquets and out-guards to load with a "running ball, that there may be no waste of ammunition. "A detachment of one Field-Officer, six Captains, twelve "Subalterns, eighteen Serjeants, six hundred rank and file, to June. "parade immediately after reveillé beating to-morrow, and "march to repair the roads: they may go in their waistcoats, "but must carry provisions for the day; one half to carry "their arms, the other half spades and shovels.

12th. "It is the General's order, that no scouting parties, or "others in the army under his command, shall (whatsoever "opportunities they may have) scalp any women or children "belonging to the enemy;[1] [369] they are to bring them "away, if they can; if not, they are to leave them unhurt; "and he is determined, if the enemy should murder, or scalp, "any women or children, who are the subjects of the King of "Great Britain, he will revenge it by the death of two men of "the enemy, for every woman or child murdered or scalped by "them, whenever he has occasion."[2]

This camp at Fort Edward[3] is the grand rendezvous of the army, and, as the provincial troops arrive, great pains are taken to instruct them in their duty, by making them acquainted with the use of arms, familiarising them to fire at marks; and they, as well as the regulars, are constantly employed in forming and dispersing in the woods, and in other exercises adapted to the peculiar method of carrying on war in close-covered countries; yesterday a party of them were embarrassed in these dark forests, and it was some time before they could

* Three half-pence sterling.—*Note by author.*

[1] On the previous day Amherst had received a message from Brigadier-General Prideaux that hostile Indians had scalped some people.—*Amherst's Journal* (*Canadian Archives*, M. 212, p. 17.)

[2] This order does not appear to have had any effect; the scalping continued.

[3] See plan facing this page.

ROUTE OF THE CANADIAN COURIERS FROM MONTREAL TO SKENESBOROUGH

From a manuscript plan in the Dominion Archives

find their way, but several guns being discharged, for their guidance, from the fort, they happily recovered themselves, and returned safe. 1759. (July 31st.)

"ORDERS.

"The Royal Highland regiment to strike their tents to- June. "morrow at reveillé-beating, and to be joined by a detachment 13th. "of provincials, commanded by a Field-Officer, and consisting "of five hundred men, rank and file; two six-pounders, with "one Officer, and twelve men of the Royal Artillery, and "ammunition in proportion, will march with this detachment. "Captain Stark,[1] with his company of rangers, will join this "command from the four-mile post; a company of Indians "will likewise be ordered to join them. Lieutenant-Colonel "Payston is for this duty, and Colonel Grant[2] will receive "farther orders from the General; a waggon per company, "one for the staff, and five for the provincials, will be allowed "to carry their tents. The Officers of provincials, that com- "mand these detachments, will send immediately to complete "[370] their men to thirty-six rounds, if their horns will hold "it; if not, they will only take what their horns will contain, "and ball in proportion. The ammunition to be carefully "examined, &c. damaged cartridges to be new-made, arms to "be looked over, and put in good order."

This day Colonel Grant, with eight companies of his Royal Highlanders, and the detachments ordered yesterday, were 14th.

[1] John Stark was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1728. He became a hunter and trapper, was for a time a prisoner among the Indians, and was appointed a Lieutenant in the New Hampshire levies serving under Johnson in the expedition to Lake George in 1755. In 1756 he became Lieutenant in a company of Rangers commanded by Robert Rogers, and later was made Captain. In the Revolutionary War he served on the American side at Bunker Hill and other important engagements, and won the battle of Bennington in 1777. He was appointed Brigadier-General, and held high commands in the last years of the war. He died in 1822.

[2] Francis Grant, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 42nd Highlanders.

1759. (July 31st.) advanced seven miles forward, and took post there; the Colonel instantly threw up a rectangular stockade, and mounted three four-pounders in it.

June.

"ORDERS.

15th. "Prideaux's regiment to strike their tents at two o'clock "this afternoon, to march, half an hour after, to the half-way "brook, where the Officer, commanding the regiment, will "follow such orders as he shall receive from Colonel Grant."

(After Orders.)

"Prideaux's regiment are not to march until to-morrow "morning; they will strike their tents at reveillé-beating, and "march half an hour after; the Commanding Officer will take "under his escort the waggons loaded with artillery stores, and "what cannon may be ordered to be sent forward; he will "proceed with the same to the half-way brook, and follow "such farther orders as he shall receive from Colonel Grant."

16th. The battalion companies of the 55th regiment, with a Captain, Subaltern, and twenty men, from the Royal Artillery, together with fifteen field-pieces, marched this day, and joined Colonel Grant, at the seven-mile post: several waggons, with artillery stores, batteaus, and provisions, also joined, which were under their convoy. A soldier of Pitch's[1] provincials was to have suffered death to-day, for desertion, pursuant to the sentence of a general court- [371] martial, but the Commander in Chief was graciously pleased to pardon him. Such of the provincial troops as never fired ball are ordered to be out, and fire at marks. The first battalion of the Massachuset troops are under orders of readiness to march on the shortest notice.

[1] This must be Fitch, Commander of a Provincial Regiment, and Governor of Connecticut.

The Field-Officers of the provincial troops take their tour of duty in the line, with those of the regulars. This morning an Officer and six men, from the enemy, under a flag of truce, appeared to the advanced centries of the seven-mile post; they were immediately conducted by a private path to the General; it is surmised that their errand relates to the exchange of prisoners. Colonel Grant is very diligent in finishing his works, which are in great forwardness; he detaches scouts every day to Lake George and South Bay, but, as yet, has made no discoveries; that bay runs within fourteen miles of fort Edward. Returns are daily made to the General from the seven-mile post, as well of the quantity of stores which arrive, as the situation of affairs there. The Royal and New-Jersey regiments are under orders of readiness to march on the shortest notice.

1759. (July 31st.) June. 17th.

In the regulations of this day, it was notified that—

"ORDERS.

"All the species of provisions, which the contractors "have engaged to furnish the troops, are to be delivered, "when the several species are in store; but if the more "necessary demands for carriages should prevent the most "bulky articles from being brought to the army, or the con- "tractor may not at all times have it in his power to furnish "a sufficient supply of every species; in either of these cases, "if the regiments chuse it, they may receive one article in "lieu of another, in the following proportions: If pease are "wanting, one half the quantity of rice, or a pound of bread, "or flour, or the third part of a pound of pork, may be "received in lieu of pease. If pease and rice are wanting, one "[372] pound of pork, or two pounds twelve ounces of flour, "may be received in lieu of pease and rice. If pease, rice,

1759. (July 31st.) "and butter are wanting, one pound and a quarter of pork, "or three pounds and an half of bread or flour, may be re- "ceived in lieu of the pease, rice, and butter. If the above "proportions are taken in lieu of those species that may not "be in store, the regiments will then give receipts for their June. "full rations."

In the after-orders of this day, directions are given relative to flags of truce coming from the enemy, in like manner as the reader will find mentioned at the siege of Louisbourg, under the orders dated the 15th of June, 1758, with this addition,

"That a proper guard is always to be given from the "advanced post, for the protection and security of those that "may be sent."

18th. A large convoy of provisions, stores, and batteaus was escorted to-day to the seven mile post by the first battalion of Massachusets. The flag of truce returned, properly attended: 'General Amherst sent by the Officer to Monsieur 'Bourlemacque a transcript of the order of the 12th instant, 'relating to scalping women and children, &c.' Early this morning a detachment of one hundred men and a Captain, with some rangers and Indians, were sent to the lake. A command of two Captains, ten Subalterns, with Non-commissioned in proportion, and three hundred and twenty-eight men of the corps of grenadiers and light infantry, are ordered to move forward this night, and incamp by the side of the road, as a guard on the cattle and waggons which accompany them; they are directed to their post by Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst. Two Field-Officers and eight hundred men, with an Engineer, half with their arms, and the rest with tools, are under orders to parade early to-morrow morning, to repair the

roads from fort Edward to [373] the four-mile post. The Royal are to march to-morrow, as are likewise the New-Jersey and Connecticut troops; a Captain and sixty rangers will attend them. The most inexperienced of the provincials are daily out at exercise, and firing at marks; Brigadier-General Gage and Colonel Montresor,[1] arrived at the seven-mile post this evening. 1759. (July 31st.) June.

The Royal, with the New-Jersey regiment and Connecticut troops, marched this morning to the seven-mile post,[2] under the command of Colonel Forster; from thence the Colonel proceeded with the Royal, 55th, and New-Jersey regiments, an Officer of Artillery and two field-pieces, one company of rangers, and some Indians, towards the lake, and took post about three miles on this side of it: the Colonel immediately cleared his ground, threw up an intrenchment, and fortified it with the trees that were felled; a stockade fort was marked out, which is to be erected there. The grenadier and light infantry companies of the regiment, being formed into distinct corps, did not march with them from Colonel Grant's post; the former are under the command of Colonel Haviland, who is to be assisted by Captain Campbell, of the grenadiers of the Royal Highlanders, appointed Major for this campaign; and the light infantry are to be commanded by Captain Holmes, of the 27th regiment,[3] who, with Captain Gladwin of the 19th.

[1] James Gabriel Montresor was born in London in 1709 of a French Huguenot family. He entered the army and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers on January 4, 1758. In 1757 he was sent to America, where he remained till early in 1760, holding the rank of "Chief Engineer in the Provinces." He died on January 6, 1776. His son, Captain John Montresor, was with Wolfe at Quebec, and left a valuable journal of the siege.

[2] General Amherst's *Journal* reads: "The Royal Jersey Regt., a Battalion of Connecticut & Rangers are marched at day break under the command of Col. Foster to half way brook. Prideaux's to joyn the above corps, leaving the Connecticutt Battn. at half way brook. They are to take Post between that and the Lake."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 212, p. 21.

[3] There were two captains named James Holmes in this regiment; the one received his commission on December 10, 1755, the other on February 2, 1757.

1759. (July 31st.) 80th to assist him, are both likewise appointed Majors for the campaign.[1]

June. 20th. The Royal Highlanders and light troops, under Colonel Grant, are under orders of readiness to march to-morrow morning; the troops are employed in repairing the roads from fort Edward; the carriages, being in a bad condition, are this day putting in order, by which the cattle have got a day of rest, and it is very requisite, they being greatly harrassed [*sic*]. The army (except the 77th and New Hampshire regiments) have received directions to march to-morrow, according to the following excellent disposition and orders.

[374] "ORDERS.

"The *Generale* to beat at half an hour before day-break, "on which the army will immediately strike their tents. "The *Assemblée* to beat half an hour after, on which the regi- "ments will draw up in the front of their incampments, and "are to be told off ready to march when ordered, the whole "in two columns; the regulars by the left by half files; the "provincials by the right two deep, as they have always been "accustomed to it. Major Rogers, with the rangers, and "Major Gladwin,[2] with Gage's light infantry, will form the

[1] Amherst gives the following statement of his forces on June 19:

		Provincials.	
Royal	974	Massachusetts	1202
Late Forbes	734	Jersey	991
Inniskilling	744	Lyman	661
R. Highlanders	1023	Whiting	736
Prideaux's	728	Fitch	636
Montgomery's	960	Babcock	613
Gage's	534		
Rangers	724		
Artillery	116		
	6537		4839

Total—11,376

—Enclosed in Amherst to Pitt, June 19, 1759 (*Canadian Archives*, M. 212, p. 282).

[2] Henry Gladwin joined the army in 1753, took part in the expedition under General Braddock, was promoted to the rank of Major in 1760, and Lieutenant-

"advance-guard, and are to take great precautions in keeping 1759. (July
"out flanking parties to the right, as far as the half-way 31st.)
"brook, from thence to the lake; they will have advanced and
"flanking parties to the left as well as the right. These corps
"will draw up at day-break, in the road beyond the front of
"the camp, of the left of the light infantry. The detach- June.
"ment, at present under Major Gladwin's command, will join
"their corps at day-break. The light infantry of the regiments
"need not strike their tents till the army is near marched by;
"the grenadiers will march by the left, and halt on the road,
"in the rear of Gage's, till Forbes's and the Inniskilling regi-
"ments join them; which two regiments must march in the
"front of the first line, the left of the 27th joining the right
"of the 17th, till they join the grenadiers. Whiting's will
"march by the right, along their own front, to the front
"of Worcester's;—Worcester's will follow Whiting's in the
"same order of march, and Fitch's will follow Worcester's;
"the whole marching along the front of the Rhode Island
"regiment, which will follow Worcester's, and march up the
"hill along the left-hand road, till the left of Whiting's is
"opposite to the left of the grenadiers; the second battalion
"of Ruggles's will likewise march from the right, along their
"own front, falling in upon the rear of the Rhode Island
"regiment; when that is passed, the artillery-waggons will
"follow; then the tents and baggage are to follow, in the
"follow- [375] ing order: first, the General's with his guard,
"then Brigadier-General Gage's; that of the rangers, light
"infantry of Gage's; the grenadiers, Forbes's, Inniskilling's,
"Whiting's, Worcester's, Fitch's, Babcock's, and the second
"battalion of Ruggles's; the baggage of the light infantry:
"the light corps under Major Holmes will form the rear-

Colonel in 1763. He was Deputy Adjutant-General in America, and in command at Detroit during the conspiracy of Pontiac; he served throughout the Revolutionary War, and was appointed Major-General in 1782. He died in England in 1791.

1759. (July 31st.) "guard of the whole. The 77th, the New Hampshire, and "Willard's are not to march, but to remain under the com-"mand of Colonel Montgomery;[1] they will strike their tents "to change their camp, as that Colonel will order them. "The General expects the flanking platoons shall be ready to June. "turn out at a moment's notice; that the whole army have "their arms in order, ready loaded; and that the men are, at "all times, ready to receive the enemy: on all halts, the "column to the right will face to the right, the column on "the left to the left; and, in case any attack should happen, "the left column shall not face a man to the right, or offer to "fire a shot, on pain of the severest punishment. When the "regiments are drawn up on their ground, the regulars will "wheel their platoons to the left, and the provincials to the "right, then as they were, that the Officers and men may "know the platoons they belong to, before they march off. "Every platoon is to be attentive to the Officer that com-"mands it. The Officer's attention must be intirely to his "platoon, obeying the orders of his Superiors: and the General "expects, that, though the Officers have fusils, none of them "will be so inconsiderate as to amuse themselves in firing at "the enemy, by which they would inevitably neglect the much "more essential part of service,—the care of their platoons; "and he absolutely forbids the Officers' firing, unless on emer-"gent occasions. Whatsoever post an Officer may be sent to "take, the General expects he will first visit the ground round "him, and post his centinels as he judges best, to make it

[1] Archibald Montgomerie, Earl of Eglinton, born 1726, was Major in the 36th Foot at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, and organized a Highland regiment, known at first as the 2nd Highland Regiment, but afterwards numbered as the 77th Foot. Montgomerie was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant in January, 1757. His regiment formed the advance in the second expedition to Fort Duquesne in 1758, and did good service later. In 1769, after the disbanding of the Highland Regiment, Montgomerie was appointed Colonel of the 51st Foot, became a Major-General in 1772, Lieutenant-General in 1777, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle in 1782. He died a full General and Colonel of the Scots Greys, October 30, 1796.

"impossible for the enemy to surprise him; centinels must 1759.
"not be out of sight, or hearing of the guard, or of each (July 31st.)
"other; the [376] Officer will throw up logs, or strengthen
"his post by the best means he can, so that the enemy shall
"not force it, as the General intends never to take any post
"that shall be abandoned, but shall be defended and sustained June.
"on all occasions, unless he himself, on some extraordinary
"event, shall give the Officer who commands at the post par-
"ticular orders to the contrary."

The stockade at the seven-mile post was finished to-day; 21st.
the General, with Brigadier Gage and the army, pursuant to the orders of yesterday, marched from fort Edward, and took post at lake George; they were joined by the Royal Highlanders from Colonel Grant's post, Lieutenant-Colonel Payson remaining there in command with one thousand provincials, seven field-pieces, and an Officer and twelve Artillery-men; the General took six twelve-pounders, two six-pounders, and two howitzers with him, under the conduct of the Officer commanding the artillery, together with a large quantity of every kind of ammunition for cannon and musketry; one hundred carriages, with batteaus; and a great many others, with provision and other stores. Provisions, batteaus, and whale-boats continue to be forwarded from fort Edward to the seven-mile post. Very hot weather for some days past.

The General is busy in redoubting his camp at lake George, 24th.
and repairing the roads; the most prudent precautions are taken to prevent a surprise, and his centries are all doubled at night-fall. Colonel Payson's post was alarmed, two days ago, by a report of some Indians being seen lurking between his camp and fort Edward; he detached a company of provincials to scour that part of the country, but they did not make any discoveries. The Colonel is very alert in forwarding provisions and stores to the lake, as fast as they arrive at his post; he has contracted the works that were thrown up by Colonel Grant,

1759. (July 31st.) and takes great pains to secure his post from a surprise; to which end frequent scouting parties are detached to South Bay, and the neighbourhood of his camp; [377] and, though seldom a day passes without an alarm, he is very diligent in causing his men to be instructed in the exercise of the firelock, and

June. rendering them expert marksmen. The weather is so intolerably hot, that the teams can scarce perform their duty; and on this account provisions only have been forwarded to Colonel Payson's post from fort Edward, for several days; the army at lake George are well supplied with greens and spruce-beer, and parties are every-where detached to secure the communications between the camp and the dependent posts, by which the waggons can travel in safety.

27th. Several batteaus of the enemy have lately appeared on the lake; they attempted to surprise two Officers and a few men, who were fishing off Diamond island, distant fourteen miles from the army; the Officers instantly put a-shore, and made the best of their way to the camp, with the enemy close to their heels, insomuch that they had barely time to save themselves; whereupon the General sent a fishing party on the following day to the same place, under Captain Stark; and at the same time a covering party was detached, consisting of two companies of grenadiers, two of light infantry, some rangers and Indians, the whole under Major Campbell, with an intent to form an ambuscade: the fishing party were directed to keep within call of each other, and were to be ready to follow Captain Stark, whose boat was distinguished with a red flag, and he had orders, upon the appearance of an enemy, to row in shore where the ambush lay, and in so seemingly fearful a manner, as to decoy the enemy after them. This scheme was exceedingly well concerted, but was not attended with the wished for success; if it had been necessary, Major Campbell was to have been sustained by a larger detachment of grenadiers and light troops, under Colonel Haviland, who were posted for that purpose. Colonel Montgomery

commands at the seven-mile post from fort Edward; he sent off a party of the artillery this day to the army; as the convalescents of the provincials arrive, who were left behind sick, they are immediately forwarded [378] to their regiments. The Commander in Chief received an express from General Wolfe, informing him, that he received the following intelligence from an Officer of provincials and a ranging Officer, who had been for some time prisoners at Quebec, and escaped from the enemy in a surprising manner: 'That the principal 'attention of the Governor of Canada and the French Generals 'was in the defence of the fort and lines of Ticonderago; that 'there was only a garrison of four hundred men at Quebec, but 'that Monsieur de Montcalm had lately drawn most of the 'army to its neighbourhood, and had a great number of artifi-'cers, and other workmen, employed in rendering the place as 'defensible as possible; and that fourteen ships, with a few 'soldiers on board, laden with stores and provisions had arrived 'safe.' These officers who came off in a canoe fell in with that fleet as they were working up to the bason, who luckily took no notice of them; when they had got above one hundred leagues, they met a shallop with three men, of which they possessed themselves, and afterwards fell in with a sloop with four men on board, which they gallantly surprised, and made the best of their way in her to Louisbourg.[1] The provincial troops are daily out at exercise, and firing by platoons. 1759. (July 31st.) June.

The incampment of the army is in a very disagreeable situation, the ground being a loose, sandy soil, and environed with commanding hills. The weather is now more moderate. The Halifax sloop, which was built last campaign for fourteen guns, and was sunk at the close of it, partly engages our attention at present, as we are endeavouring to weigh her, for immediate service: Captain Loring,[2] of the navy, has the super- 29th.

[1] This was Captain Stobo and his party. See vol. ii. p. 49, note.

[2] Joshua Loring obtained a commission in the navy as Lieutenant on May 23, 1745, and on August 16, 1750, he was given permission to go to Nova Scotia

1759. (July 31st.) intendence of this work; likewise the care of the batteaus, whale-boats, naval stores, &c. &c. and all batteau-men, and others concerned, are ordered to obey him in every thing relating to those affairs. Some of the team-drivers, presuming to fire at birds on the road, caused an alarm at Colonel

June. Payson's post: yesterday a scouting party of the Colonel's, who had been detached [379] to South Bay, and to reconnoitre the environs of his camp, returned without making any discovery; by a small party of Indians detached by Brigadier Prideaux, the General received information that his army (consisting of the 44th and 46th regiments, the first battalion of Royal Americans, a good body of provincials, and near a thousand Indians under Sir William Johnson) had marched from fort Stanwix,[1] the 22d instant. A party of rangers returned from a scout, and report, that they saw a large incampment at Carillon.

30th. Several whale-boats of the enemy were discovered on the lake by some of our advanced scouting parties; the 55th regiment marched to the three mile post from fort Edward, to relieve Colonel Whiting's provincials; we have received most of the artillery stores that were at Colonel Payson's post; an

on half pay. On January 7, 1752, he had leave to reside at Boston under similar conditions. Four years later he returned to England, and on March 13, 1756, was appointed Commander of the brig *Loudon* and agent for the transports which were hired to carry the troops to America. During the months of March and April he made several reports to the Lords Commissioners of the Navy on the state of the transports, and on April 25 sailed with the transports for New York, where he arrived on June 21 after a passage of nearly nine weeks. Shortly after his arrival in New York he received instructions from General Abercromby to provide a number of sloops to carry the soldiers to Albany. On July 25 he was instructed by Lord Loudoun to enlist a number of seamen, with whom he proceeded to Albany. He returned to England in 1757, and on December 19 received a commission as Captain. Setting out again for America, he served with distinction in the campaigns of 1758, 1759, and 1760. About 1767 he settled at Roxbury, Massachusetts.

[1] Fort Stanwix was erected by Brigadier Stanwix in 1758 at the Carrying Place between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, an important link in the communications between Albany and Oswego.

artillery Officer and seven field-pieces still remain there. The provincials are daily at exercise; they fire three rounds per man by platoons, practise all the firing motions, and perform tolerably well; Colonel Scuyler's battalion is a very respectable corps. All the rangers and Indians were reviewed to-day by Brigadier-General Gage. The artillery were also exercised, of which the army had notice, that they might not be alarmed. Great precautions taken to prevent our teamsters, &c. being surprised or way-laid on the roads. 1759. (July 31st.) June.

Wet weather: the troops are employed in constructing a stone fortress fit to contain a garrison of six hundred men; it is of an irregular form, situated on a rock, has one front to the lake, and a large tract of morass surrounds the other faces of it; a casemate is to be built in this fort, spacious enough to receive four hundred men at least; and there is great plenty of good lime-stone, and excellent brick clay, on the spot. Sixteen men of the New-Jersey regiment went out without leave this morning to cut spruce, about a small mile from the left of our camp; they did not take their arms with them: about eleven o'clock they were fired upon by a party of Canadians and Indians, who killed and wounded eleven of them; [380] the others who escaped (with such of the wounded as were able) retired to a redoubt which covers our left flank at the distance of about five hundred yards; the rabble pursued them with great insolence, close to that intrenchment; and would have taken and killed every man of them, had not the detachment who are posted there repulsed them with a brisk fire; the picquets of the line, with our Indians and rangers, were instantly sent in pursuit of these blood-hounds; but, before they could come up with them, they scalped all that fell into their hands, retired to their boats, and rowed off: by the time our people got to the lake, the scoundrels were out of musket-shot, and insolently lay some time on their oars, shouting at them; it is conjectured this party did not exceed forty, and that they were the same who were discovered July. 1st & 2d.

1759. (July 31st.) yesterday, in their whale-boats on the lake, by our advanced scouts.[1]

In consequence of a meeting yesterday of Brigadier Gage and the Commanding Officers of the regular regiments, to take into consideration the payment of the troops, and the stoppages
July. to be made, to inable the Captains to provide their men with shirts, shoes, stockings, &c. it was agreed, that a Serjeant shall receive six shillings, a Corporal and Drummer four shillings, and a private soldier three shillings, per week, New-York currency: and that their accounts should be made up, signed, and cleared every two months; the General was pleased to approve of this regulation, and ordered the same to be practised and observed for the future. Two rangers, who were prisoners with the enemy, lately made their escape from Oswegatchie, and fortunately, by mere accident, fell in with Fort Miller,[2] whence they arrived here, after a ramble of seventeen days; they inform us, that the enemy have a small post at Cataracqui; that they have been, for some time past, at all their forts on lake Ontario, in great distress for provisions, and would actually have abandoned them and retired, had they not lately received a supply; they also say, that the French have got two sloops on the lake, but [381] that they mount such heavy guns, that, if rough weather was to come on, they would be in danger of foundering.

3d. The most of the articles, which we buried last campaign, remained undiscovered by the enemy; they found a floating-battery that was sunk in the lake, which mounted eight heavy pieces of ordnance; and this was the only thing of any im-

[1] Colonel Amherst in his *Journal* says: "A party of Indians, this morning, attacked a working party of the New Jersey Regt. near our advanced post upon the left. they killed and scalped six, wounded two, and six are missing. they were pursued by the light infantry and Rangers, and were seen to go off in eleven Canoes, some Regulars with them."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213-1, p. 81.

[2] Fort Miller was at "the Little Carrying Place" on the Hudson, a short distance south of Fort Edward and on the route between that post and Saratoga.

portance. This morning Colonel Montgomery's regiment with two of the provincials (Willard's and Lovel's) and some rangers, marched from fort Edward and joined the army; they had all our heavy artillery and a great number of covered waggons, with the batteaus, on carriages, under their convoy; at Colonel Payson's post they took up a detachment of an Officer and twelve artillery-men, with seven field-pieces, and arrived late in the evening; the General, with a small escort, went to meet them, and the weather favoured their march, being fair, and less sultry than of late. The army continue to be well supplied with fresh provisions and spruce-beer. Here follows an extract of this day's orders: 1759. (July 31st.) July.

"ORDERS.

"The General sees, and does not doubt, that the men will, "on all occasions, be very alert in turning out against the "enemy; yet he cannot but disapprove of any men running "out, of their own accord, on alarms that may happen, and "absolutely forbids it; on any little alarm, the men em- "ployed at work are to go on as if nothing had happened, and "not to quit their work until ordered; and all the men, not "particularly employed, are immediately to join their regi- "ments, but not to turn out, before they receive orders "for it."

Our Engineers make great progress in erecting the new fort, and have got a fresh supply of Bricklayers and Masons, from the three corps that arrived yesterday. A small party of our Indians returned this day from a scout; they discovered several of the enemy's fires [382] at the first narrows. We have got part of the Halifax sloop (sunk last year) above water, and her guns, that have lain buried, were taken up to-day. The French savages are daily sculking in the vicinity of 4th.

1759. (July 31st.) our camp, having the advantage of the adjoining eminences, whence they have a distinct view of all our transactions: they lately pursued two of our Indians, for almost two days together; but, by our picquets and light troops scouring these hills every day, they are in some measure awed from giving us

July. any considerable annoyance; all our advanced guards are ordered to light fires at night-fall, and continue them until morning. The troops are permitted to bathe, at stated hours in the lake; which conduces much to the health of the soldiery. A number of men are employed in making brick and lime; others in works of various kinds, relating to the farther operations of the campaign, particularly at the new fort, the sloop, batteaus, &c. and proper covering parties everywhere attend them, by which they work in great safety; the provincial regiments, that arrived last with Colonel Montgomery, are out at exercise, practising the firing motions, and firing by platoons.

6th. The Commanding Officer of the artillery is ordered to superintend the building a raft, to carry nine twelve-pounders over the lake; a great number of batteaus are now repairing for the ordnance-stores: Major Rogers detached Captain Jacob, two days ago, on a scout with a party of Indians.[1] We are informed that Sir William Johnson's corps of savages, who form a part of Brigadier Prideaux's army, have been very successful; and they not only seem attached to our interest, but have influenced the most of their prisoners to bury the hatchet, and follow their example; (this shews the policy of those aborigines, in joining the strongest party.) The Brigadier's troops amount to about five thousand five hundred effectives, including all ranks. Late this evening one of our centinels saw a man skulking among our batteaus, and challenged him; having no reply made to him, he repeated it; when the other finding himself [383] detected, discharged his piece, which the centinel returned instantly; and it is thought

[1] Captain Jacobs was in command of a detachment of Stockbridge Indians.

he wounded his mark, some blood being traced from the place: this is supposed to have been a French Indian, that came with an intent to burn our boats and naval stores. The greatest attention is paid to the health of the troops upon all occasions, as well provincials as regulars. The Commanding Officers of regiments are ordered to prepare their batteaus, and have every thing in readiness to cross the lake upon the first notice. As some mines are to be blown to-night by the Engineers, the army are apprised to prevent their being alarmed. 1759. (July 31st.) July.

The orders of the 26th of May, relating to ox-teams instead of waggons, are countermanded; and all suttlers, and others who are licensed, are permitted to use what waggons, carts, or horses, they find most convenient for transporting refreshments to the army. The Officers commanding at the several posts are directed to let all the waggons pass accordingly; nevertheless the prohibition of rum, and spirituous liquors, is always to remain in full force. All straggling cattle from the different posts are ordered to be drove to-morrow to fort Edward; if any people have lost any cattle, they are desired to take this opportunity to look for them, as this is the last search that will be made. The provincial troops are daily exercising and firing; the utmost pains are taken to render them expert soldiers, in which the General is well seconded by the Officers of these corps; between two and three hundred of them are incorporated with the artillery-men for this campaign, and are instructed in that service. An iron eighteen-pounder was mounted to-day, in the stern of a new-built *proe*,[1] and was afterwards loaded and discharged for trial; she rolled considerably, which is imputed to her being too narrow for her length. A reconnoitring party of rangers returned this evening from Crown-Point; they confirm the intelligence brought by our scouts on the twenty-ninth of June, of there being a large incampment at Carillon, but few or none of the enemy at Crown-Point; they add, that they saw Jacob and his [384] 7th.

[1] Proe, variation of Proa—a sailing-boat.—*New Oxford Dictionary.*

1759. (July 31st.) party smartly pursued a-shore by the enemy in canoes; that they fired at our people on the water, and they believe they came up with Jacob, for they heard a smart firing for some time after.

July. 8th. The provincial regiments, under arms to-day, to be perfected in the manœuvres contained in the regulations of the 20th of June. Colonel Townshend took post on the right, and Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst on the left, who were to direct and see if these corps comprehended clearly those orders, and understood thoroughly what was meant by Front, Flank and Rear platoons: they made a good appearance, performed well, and gave great satisfaction. The sloop is now a-float, and repairing: the Engineers very diligent in forwarding the new fort; weather variable, generally wet.

"ORDERS.

9th. "The grenadiers to relieve all the out-posts and guards "of the camp, that are not regimental, at five o'clock this "evening. The Major of brigade to send the detail of those "guards to Colonel Haviland immediately. The regular "regiments of the line will be ready formed at the head of "their incampment, between four and five o'clock to-morrow "morning; if a fine day, the men to be in their waistcoats, "with their arms and ammunition: Commanding Officers of "battalions will have their orders sent to them by the General; "Colonel Grant to be on horseback. No soldiers to stir out "of camp, unless those who are ordered on particular duties; "and no man to go from this towards Fort Edward till the "above regiments return to camp, and no one to be permitted "to stir from the posts on the communication to-morrow, "until permission is sent. The rangers and Indians must be "observant of this order, for, if they straggle in the woods, "they will be shot.

"A STANDING ORDER.

"The grenadiers and brigades of Royal and late Forbes's 1759. (July 31st.)
"(1st and 2d brigades) are, during this campaign, to be
"drawn up on all [385] services two deep:[1] this makes no
"alteration in the posting of Officers, or the telling off the
"battalions in grand or sub divisions and platoons, or in the
"front or flank, and rear and flank platoons; when the July.
"battalion is told off in platoons on the parade, the whole
"battalion is to be three deep, the two center platoons close,
"and an interval of half the front of a platoon left between
"each platoon, from the one on the right of the center to
"the platoon on the right of the battalion. The same to be
"observed from the platoon on the left of the center to the
"platoon on the left of the battalion. The Commanding
"Officers will then order the Officers commanding platoons
"to form them two deep, which they will do by dividing
"the rear ranks; those on the right of the colours facing
"to the right; those on the left facing to the left, and halting
"when in the intervals: the first half forms on the right
"of the front rank of each platoon, on the right of the
"colours: and on the left of the front rank of each platoon
"on the left of the colours; the second half forms in like
"manner, on the right and left of the second rank; and, if
"there is an odd man, the Officer takes what one he pleases
"as his second. This method is always to be practised, that
"every Officer commanding a platoon may have the men of
"the third rank next to him; that, in case the service should
"require it, the whole battalion can be formed three deep, in
"an instant, by Officers of the platoons forming the rear ranks
"as they were; which is never to be done, unless the Com-
"manding Officer of the battalion orders it. The men to
"be acquainted that this is ordered, as the enemy have very

[1] See p. 350, note.

1759. (July 31st.) "few regular troops to oppose us, and no yelling of Indians, "or fire of Canadians, can possibly withstand two ranks, if the "men are silent, attentive, and obedient to their Officers, who "will lead them to the enemy; and their silence will terrify "the enemy more than any huzzaing or noise they can make, July. "which the General absolutely forbids, because their attention "and obedience to their Officers who command platoons will "insure success to his Majesty's arms.—The camp not to be "alarmed at any firing they [386] may hear to-morrow "morning from the regiments that are ordered out."

An Indian of Captain Jacob's[1] party returned wounded to camp; he says they were overpowered and obliged to run, and that several others will soon come in, if they are not overtaken. Three Indians, who left Oswego the 6th instant, arrived express this evening to the General from Brigadier Prideaux, with a return of his army, amounting to near five thousand men, regulars and provincials, with a detachment of artillery and about eight hundred Indians under Sir Willian Johnson. The raft, ordered to be constructed under Major Ord, is in great forwardness.

10th and 11th. The battalions of regulars were out to-day in the woods to exercise, agreeable to the orders of yesterday; they had two brass six-pounders with them, and the General was exceedingly pleased with their performance. Ten waggoners of the provincials were tried for stealing his Majesty's arms and working-tools; one was sentenced to receive four hundred lashes, the others three hundred each: the General made a public example of the principal, by ordering him first to be punished at the head of every regiment, and then to be turned out of camp, and deemed unworthy to serve in the army; the other

[1] Colonel Amherst says in his *Journal:* "Some of Jacobs's party came in, the canoes drove them in shore on the west side of the Lake, where they landed, and the enemy Indians pursued them closely, they imagine that Capt. Jacobs with the remainder of the party, are killed, or taken prisoners."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213–1, p. 82.

delinquents his Excellency was pleased to pardon, but ordered 1759. (July 31st.)
that they should be marched prisoners to see the punishment
inflicted on the chief transgressor; from thence they proceeded
to Saratoga, for the tools and arms that were stolen. Two
others of these provincial teamsters, with three negroes, were
also tried as parties concerned, and were acquitted. Our July.
evening-gun is now fired out of the Proe, and is loaded with
a round shot. The Halifax sloop, being weighed, is masted
and repairing; she is to carry six and four pounders. Batteaus
are delivered to the troops, in the following proportions: the
Royal, 42d, and 77th, thirty-five batteaus each; the 17th,
27th, 55th, and 2d battalion of Ruggles's, Willard, Lovewell,
Babcock, Whiting, Fitch, Worcester, and Lyman, twenty-
[387] six each, with their oars and all other appurtenances;
a whale-boat per regiment for each Commanding Officer is
also delivered, with orders that proper persons may be
appointed to water them, to prevent their leaking; and small
guards from each corps to take care of their own. Officers
commanding regiments are ordered to mark and number their
batteaus. In the regulations of this day, it is said, that each
batteau will carry twelve barrels of flour, or nine of pork,
when ordered to load; and it is supposed will have about
twenty men, or a few more or less, in each, &c.——The
proportions for the grenadiers and light troops are:—rangers,
forty-three whale-boats, one batteau;—Gage's light infantry,
forty-one whale-boats, four batteaus, and the flat-bottomed
boat;—light infantry of regiments, forty-three whale-boats,
five batteaus; and the grenadiers the same; two batteaus will
be allowed for the suttlers of regiments, but they must provide
boatmen for themselves. The whale-boats are ordered to be
marked and numbered, in like manner as the batteaus. One
batteau per brigade is allowed for the Surgeons of the regulars;
and two for the Surgeons of the provincials; the artillery will
be supplied with whatever number they may require. A de-
tachment of one hundred and twenty provincials, under Major

1759. (July 31st.) Durgey,[1] are to be left here when the army imbarks, for the protection of the workmen and artificers that are to remain employed in the New Fort.

July. 12th. Early this morning, a detachment of grenadiers and rangers, with a few Indians, in all about four hundred, commanded by Major Campbell, imbarked in batteaus, and proceeded to the islands on the lake, to drive the enemy from thence; they were convoyed by a floating-battery of one gun, with a Serjeant and six artillery-men; and the rangers and Indians were advanced in whale-boats. About eight, the van with the light troops were fired upon, whereby a Serjeant was killed and an Indian wounded, which brought on a smart firing on both sides, until the Major ordered our people to cease and retire, that the Proe might come into action; accordingly she worked up, and gave them a fire, which obliged the enemy to abandon their [388] posts, and retire to their canoes; the Major then endeavoured to come up with them, but found it impossible, their canoes, which were made of birch bark, being lighter and easier-worked than our boats, &c. we fired several shots at them, but are uncertain as to any execution.[2] After chacing for some time, the Major went

[1] "July 9th, 1759. The General sent to me to know if I had made choice of a Field officer to be here, and by Major Moneypenny sent word to the General that if he pleased I would chuse Major Durky of the Provincials." (*Journal of Colonel James Montresor: Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 1881.) John Durgey, or Durkee, was born in Windham, Connecticut, in 1728. Entering the Provincial forces, he rose to the rank of Major. In 1769 he led a colony to the Wyoming valley to support the claims of Connecticut to that district, was captured by the forces of Pennsylvania, and imprisoned in Philadelphia. He served with distinction in the American army at Bunker Hill and throughout the Revolutionary War. He died in 1782.

[2] Colonel Amherst says: "Four Companies of Grenadiers, and a Captain, Subaltern, and sixty men of Gage's, in batteaus, commanded by Major Campbell, and Major Rogers with an hundred Rangers, and Indians in whale boats, went out this morning an hour before daybreak, taking with them a row gally with an 18 pounder, their orders were, to row along the East side of the Lake to the Narrows; for two or three of the whale boats to advance, and endeavour to entice out any party of the Enemy, that might be laying at the Narrows, the batteaus laying hid by the Islands, and ready to receive anything that the

back to the islands, burnt and destroyed all their works and huts, and returned, with his detachment, to the camp. Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, with a great number of artificers and workmen, are engaged at Fort Edward, in rendering the fortifications of that garrison more respectable. The artificers, that are to be left here at work on the New Fort, are to incamp to-morrow, in like manner as Major Durgey's detachment, with their arms and ammunition in complete good order. The retreat-gun was not fired this evening. Major Ord, of the artillery, being to make trial of some carcasses this night, the army are apprised of it, to prevent an alarm. In the orders of this day, the General observes, that "it will tend "very much to the good of his Majesty's service that the "works, now going on here, should be carried on with as much "expedition as possible, that the army may be able to proceed; "the workmen are therefore ordered, for the present, to work "from five till twelve o'clock, and from two to seven." 1759. (July 31st.) July.

Three hundred of the 77th regiment joined the army this day from Fort Ligonier, as did likewise Lieutenant-Colonel Payston with the remainder of his detachment, except a command of four hundred, who were left at the stockade and the smaller dependent posts. The sloop has got her guns on 15th.[1]

whale boats might lead into the Snare; upon a great superiority, they were to retreat to a point of land on the West side where the picquets of the line were to cover them. the whale boats advanced, discovered the Enemy upon an Island who fired upon them, killed a Serjeant and wounded an Indian, the whale boats returned it, and killed an Indian, the Enemy took to their Canoes, and the batteaus came up to support the whale boats, but fired their cannon too soon at the Canoes, had they kept it undiscovered till they were near enough to do execution with grape shot, they might have given a very good account of them. After this discovery the enemy took care to keep at a distance, and made off. they had about twenty canoes, chiefly Indians."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213–1, p. 83.

[1] In Colonel Amherst's *Journal* of the 15th we find this entry: "120 men of Montgomery's joined their Regiment from Pittsbourg. three Companies of light infantry, a Company of Grenadiers, 250 men of Gage's, commanded by Major Gladwin, and 60 men of the Inniskilling Regt. were ordered out in boats this evening at 10 o'clock to row to the narrows, to discover any parties of the Enemy upon the Islands."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213, p. 85.

1759. (July 31st.) board, and taken in her ballast. Another floating-battery is preparing to carry a brass twelve-pounder, and a three-pounder of the same metal is mounted on the stem of a flat-bottomed boat. The greatest pains are taken to instruct all regular and provincial detachments that join the army, in firing ammuni-

July. tion-cartridges by platoons, and manœuvring in the woods, in like manner as the rest of the troops have done, pursuant to the General's system. As the regiments are to carry provisions in their [389] batteaus, they are ordered to send men, with covering-parties, to cut fascines to lay in the bottoms of them. A large garden is formed here for the convenience of the New Fort, &c.

A detachment of rangers, with a Captain, two Subalterns, three Serjeants, and sixty volunteers, all under Colonel Townshend, embarked this night in the flat-bottomed boat, batteaus, and whale-boats, and proceeded up the lake; five provincial picquets, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, and a party of one hundred and fifty rangers, are under orders to parade at reveillé-beating to-morrow, and march immediately to a post on the west side of the lake, to which they will be conducted by an Officer of rangers; each of these detachments of Colonel Townshend and Lieutenant-Colonel Miller having only one day's provisions with them, it is conjectured they are to act in concert, and sustain each other, as occasion and circumstances may require. There not being any intelligence yet received from Captain Jacob,[1] his son is under great affliction on his account, and menaces vengeance against the enemy.

16th. Colonel Townshend's detachment returned this morning: they rowed up as far as the first narrows without meeting any of the enemy, or making the least discovery. We have weighed a large boat that was sunk at the close of the last campaign in forty fathom water: a fishing-party was sent out to-day; and the raft, which was built by Major Ord, being

[1] Captain Jacobs was taken prisoner to Montreal.

finished, was launched this evening. Fascines are making to line the bottoms of the batteaus. The troops are well supplied with fresh provisions, (beef and fish) which, with their spruce-beer, and constant bathing in the lake, contribute greatly to keep them healthy, notwithstanding the wetness of the season. One hundred and thirty volunteers from the provincials are appointed for the ranging service: the difference of pay will be made up to them. 1759. (July 31st.) July.

The army is imployed in loading the batteaus with artillery-stores and provisions: five hundred barrels of powder, and a large quantity of shot, were put on board the sloop. Captain Bournie, of the French colony troops, being sent with a flag of truce, he and his party were [390] stopped at the islands, where a detachment was left to guard them. This Officer informed us, that Captain Jacob and four of his Indians are prisoners; that their army is superior to ours in numbers; and he expressed great surprise at our not advancing to visit them, &c. and of their being impatient of our coming, &c. &c. The letter he brought was from the Sieur de Montcalm to the General, and was merely complimental. 19th.

A soldier of the 17th regiment, tried by a general court-martial, is this day to suffer death, pursuant to his sentence, for a robbery and being a notorious offender. The General received an express from Colonel Haldimand,[1] of the first

[1] Sir Frederick Haldimand was born August 11, 1718, at Yverdun in the canton of Neuchâtel, Switzerland. At an early age he embraced the military profession in the service of foreign countries. It seems probable that he first served, like his countryman and friend, Colonel Henry Bouquet, in the Sardinian army in Italy. He is found next in the army of Frederick the Great, being present at the battle of Mollowitz in 1741. In 1750 he was in the service of Holland, and, on May 1, 1755, was appointed Captain, with the title of Lieutenant-Colonel, in the regiment of Swiss Guards. He then joined the British army, and, on January 4, 1756, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 62nd Royal Americans, afterwards 60th Foot. He went to America in 1756, and in 1758 was made a Colonel in America. He distinguished himself at the battle at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, being slightly wounded. During the winter of 1758–59 he was in command at Fort Edward. He rebuilt Fort Oswego in the following summer, and repelled an attack by a large body of French and

1759. (July 31st.) battalion of the 60th regiment, incamped at Oswego:[1] the Colonel acquaints his Excellency, that the army under Brigadier Prideaux advanced from thence towards Niagara on the 1st instant, having left three hundred regulars, five hundred provincials, and a party of Indians, under his command at that July. post: that, soon after the departure of the army, his own

Indians under St. Luc de La Corne. In the winter of 1759–60, Haldimand, with the 4th battalion of the Royal Americans, occupied the new Fort Ontario. He then accompanied Amherst in the expedition against Montreal. Canada having been conquered, Haldimand remained for nearly two years in Montreal. He was made Colonel in the army, February 19, 1762. He replaced Burton as Governor of Three Rivers in 1762, and succeeded him in 1763. In 1765 he was promoted to the rank of a Brigadier. In 1766 he was appointed to the command in Florida, which he held until 1773. After Gage's departure for England on leave of absence, Haldimand held the chief command at New York from 1773 to 1775. In August of 1775 he was summoned to England to give information on the state of the colonies. Haldimand had been made Colonel-Commandant of the 2nd battalion of the 60th Foot, October 28, 1772, Major-General in America, May 25, 1772, Lieutenant-General, August 29, 1775, General in America, January 1, 1776. He remained in Europe for three years. On September 18, 1777, he was appointed to succeed Carleton as Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Canada. He was then on a visit at Yverdun. Haldimand reached Quebec in June, 1778. During his six years of administration, he maintained good order in the country, kept it in a good state of defence, worked strenuously to reduce superfluous expenses in all branches of administration, and dealt successfully with the problem of welcoming and settling thousands of incoming Loyalists from the South. Haldimand returned to England in November, 1784. He made his residence in London, but paid long visits to Switzerland, where he died, at Yverdun, June 5, 1791. He had been created a Knight of the Bath in 1785. Haldimand's correspondence from 1758 to 1785, including the entire records of his commands in Florida, New York, and Canada, was presented to the British Museum, and copies, made by order of the Canadian Government, have been placed in the Archives at Ottawa.

[1] Under date of the 17th, in Colonel Amherst's *Journal*, we find the following: "The General received intelligence from Col. Haldimand, (who is left with 1300 men to build a Fort at Oswego,) that Genl. Prideaux set out from thence the 1st inst. to proceed to Niagara; that on the 5th Col. Haldimand having entrenched his post, perceived in the morning a body of the Enemy surrounding his post; they lay the whole day amongst the cut wood, and kept firing at a great distance; at night they went off but returned the next morning, when the greatest part of them seemed moving up to the left of the Entrenchment, where he had three pieces of cannon, upon firing of which they all took to logs and after remaining a short time, moved off. Col. Haldimand saw them afterwards in batteaus upon the Lake. Five deserters came

Indians discovered a large body of the enemy on their march for Oswego, which they instantly reported to him, and he immediately set all hands to work, and intrenched his camp, contracting his ground within narrower limits: that, after he had got his works in some forwardness, he detached a reconnoitring-party, who fell in with the enemy, and maintained a kind of running-fight with them, until they got back to their intrenchments; that next morning early the enemy attacked his post for near three hours, but, having only musketry, which they fired at a great distance, and in an irregular manner, without making the least impression, they thought proper to desist for the present. The next day the enemy attacked an advanced redoubt, which had been thrown up for the protection of the Colonel's batteaus; but, finding themselves fired upon by artillery, they retired after a few rounds, their Commanding Officer being wounded, as the Colonel afterwards learned by several deserters, who came in from them. His name is Le Corne,[1] who was shot through one of his thighs; and his detachment amounted to near one thousand five hundred men, composed of [391] *troupes de Colonie*, Indians, and Canadians; of which the latter were most numerous: what other loss the enemy sustained is not mentioned: on our side three were killed; an Officer, an Engineer, and a private man, were wounded; in all six.[2] Mons. Le Corne has been remarkable for several acts of the

1759. (July 31st.)

July.

in to him, who say, that this party was commanded by the Chevr. de la Corne, that it consisted of 2 or 300 of the Marine Canadians, and 150 Indians. De la Corne had assured them, that we had only 500 men at that post, and that they should certainly surprize us; that a french priest, l'Abbé Picquet, marched with them, till they made the attack, then gave them his benediction, and recommended it to them to give no quarter. We had two men killed, two officers and eleven men wounded, the loss of the Enemy not known, except an officer of the Marine killed."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213-1, p. 85.

[1] See note, vol. ii. p. 556.

[2] On the 18th a flag of truce came from the Marquis de Montcalm. From it the General learned that Captain Jacobs, who had been missing since the beginning of July, was a prisoner at Montreal.

1759. (July 31st.) most wanton barbarity on our people; in which, as we are told, he always distinguished himself, not sparing even the oxen that fell into his hands. In our loading the batteaus, several of them proved leaky: in general, they are not of sufficient strength to carry ordnance-stores. We have had a great deal of wind and rain, with some fogs, of late.

"Orders for the army passing the lake, (July 20.)

July. 20th. "The advanced guard is to consist of Gage's light infantry, "with the English flat-bottomed boat in the front of the "center of their whale-boats, drawing up a-breast, covering "the heads of the columns from right to left. The army to "row in four columns: the right and first columns to consist "of rangers, light infantry of regiments, grenadiers, Willard's "and Ruggles's second battalion, to be drawn up, and row "the boats two deep; the Commanding Officers in a whale-"boat on the left of the battalions, the front rank in the "boats on the right, the rear ranks in the boats on the left, "as the whole of this column marches, and embarks by the "left; in which order they will land. When this column "lands, Colonel Bradstreet will send men to take care of all "the whale-boats: the rangers, light infantry, and grenadiers, "are to leave only what men are absolutely necessary, to "take care of their tents and baggage in their batteaus.

"The second column is to consist of the two brigades of "regulars marching and embarking by the left, beginning by "the late Forbes's regiment; their front rank in the boats on "the right, and the rear ranks in the boats on the left, rowing "two boats a-breast.

"The third column is to consist of all the artillery, the "radeaus a-head, followed by the rafts; all the Carpenters, "the boats with [392] the tools, Schuyler's regiment, and "Ruggles's first battalion, with artillery-stores, &c. embarking "from their right, rowing two boats a-breast; their front rank "on the left, the rear rank on the right, the Commanding

"Officers in a whale-boat on the right of the battalion; the "left of Ruggles's will be followed by boats belonging to the "Quarter-Masters; then Engineers, Surgeons, hospital, Com- "missaries, suttlers, a large boat with provisions, and a float "with horses. 1759. (July 31st.)

"The fourth and left column is to consist of Lyman, July. "Worcester, Fitch, Babcock, and Lovewell; they are to march "and embark by the right, rowing two batteaus a-breast, the "front rank on the left, the rear rank on the right, the Com- "manding Officers in a whale-boat on the right of the batta- "lion. Whiting's will form the rear, covering the rear of "the four columns from right to left; their right to the "fourth column, and left to the first column; their rear rank "to the columns, and front rank to the Halifax sloop.

"The Halifax sloop will cruise close to the rear of the "whole. All the battalions, except Whiting's, are to leave "neither more nor less than one Serjeant per regiment, and "one man per company, for the care of the batteaus, tents, "and baggage; and one Officer per brigade of the regulars, "one for the five regiments on the left of the provincials, "and one for the four on the right: the Officers, Serjeants, "and men to be fixed on, and their names returned to the "Major of brigade. Rangers, light infantry of regiments, "and grenadiers, to be commanded by Colonel Haviland, with "Lieutenant Brehme[1] to attend him; Willard's and 2d batta- "lion of Ruggles's commanded by Col. Ruggles, Lieut. Gray[2] "to attend him: these two last battalions to receive fifty axes "each, by applying to Mr. Russel, which, with those they "already have, may do for what work will be required of "them.—The second column will be commanded by Brigadier- "General Gage; Colonel Schuyler will command the two

[1] Probably Diederick Brehm, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th, or Royal American Regiment of Foot, on February 21, 1756. He became Captain-Lieutenant and Captain, November 16, 1774, and Major, March 19, 1783.

[2] Probably James Gray, appointed Lieutenant in the 42nd, or Royal Highland Regiment, on January 30, 1756.

1759. (July 31st.) "regiments of the third column, which will have each one "hundred axes delivered to them, by applying to Mr. Russel, "that they may be ready to clear the roads, the moment they "are ordered to land; Lieutenant Rose,[1] will [393] attend "Colonel Schuyler. The column on the left will be com-
July. "manded by Colonel Lyman, and will be ready to land on "the west side, or where ordered: the columns to row at the "same height, and the boats to keep clear of each other's oars.

"Signals to be made on Board the *Invincible Radeau*, "or the Halifax Sloop.

"A small Union flag for Majors of brigades and Adjutants "to come for orders; a Red flag is for sailing or rowing; "when struck, is for halting; then the boats must dress in "their proper places immediately; a Blue flag is for the right "column to land; when it is repeated, for Gage's light "infantry and second column to land; if repeated a third "time, for the left column to land. The artillery will land "after the second column; Whiting's regiment to have the "guard of the batteaus, and Colonel Bradstreet will make such "disposition for them as he thinks best. A twelve-pounder "on the left of the rangers; an eighteen-pounder on the "right of Lyman's.—The greatest care must be taken of arms "and ammunition; the men to land in their waistcoats, go as "light as possible, carrying only their blankets and provisions. "*No hurry, no huzzaing, on any account whatsoever; and no man* "*to fire without orders from his Officer.*—The Officers appointed "to command will receive particular orders from the General, "in whatever situation the regiments may be in, when landed, "and night coming on. No motions are to be made in the "night. Each regiment will secure their own ground. *Firing* "*in the night must be avoided; the enemy must be received with* "*fixed bayonets*, and the regiments not to quit their ground.—

[1] Probably Hugh Rose, appointed Lieutenant in the 55th Regiment on July 26, 1758.

"Even if the enemy could break through, the regiments are 1759. (July 31st.)
"never to croud or get up in heaps, but keep their ranks on
"all occasions. Silence among the men must be absolutely
"kept; no pass-word to be regarded; no orders to be obeyed,
"but such as are delivered or sent in writing by Deputy July.
"Adjutants-General, Aids de Camp, Majors of brigade, Deputy
"Quarter-Masters- [394] General, or Engineers. No man to
"go back, when landed, to fetch provisions, tents, or any
"thing else, until there is a general order for it; they must
"expect to lie a night or two on their arms. All the empty
"provision-barrels to be sent to Colonel Montresor; barrels
"belonging to the brewery to be sent there likewise; eight
"barrels of spruce-beer to be delivered to each regiment this
"evening, and one barrel to each company of grenadiers and
"light infantry, with a proper proportion to the artillery; this
"must be taken in the whale-boats and batteaus. Every thing
"to be put on board this day, that the regiments may be ready
"to strike their tents in the night, or when ordered, that the
"whole may imbark as soon as possible. The men must row
"in turns; there must be no pressing forward any-where; the
"whole will move gently, that the men may not be fatigued;
"those that are not employed in rowing must go to sleep, that
"they may be alert and fit for service, when landed."

The detachments under Colonel Forster and Major West joined the army: and, it is expected, we shall be reinforced by draughts (mostly Highlanders) from the army at Guadaloupe.[1] The command under Monsieur Le Corne, who attacked

[1] Towards the end of 1758 Pitt planned an expedition against the French West Indies. The 2nd battalion of the Royal Highlanders and six other regiments were sent out. On February 22, 1759, this armament appeared off Guadeloupe, and after some severe fighting the island was surrendered on May 1. Then, after leaving a garrison to hold the place, the Highlanders and some drafts from the other regiments were detached for the Canadian campaign, and the rest of the troops returned home.—See Mante, *History of the Late War in North America*, pp. 162–201; Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, vol. i. pp. 371–392.

1759. (July 31st.) Colonel Haldimand at Oswego, brought two sloops with them; one of them sprang a-leak, and the other ran a-ground, by which both were rendered useless. The several corps are employed in loading their batteaus with provisions, and a large

July. working-party are loading the artillery-stores: while the troops were respectively engaged in this manner, we were alarmed by a report of a body of Indians appearing on the heights round our camp, but it was groundless. Orders are given for a general hospital to be constructed here for the army. The different forts and posts between this camp and Albany[1] are garrisoned by independent companies and provincials, all subjected to the command of Colonel Montresor, who remains here for that purpose, and to for- [395] ward the new fort: Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, of the 55th regiment, will act as chief Engineer with the army.

"AFTER ORDERS.

"The *generale* to beat at two o'clock to-morrow morning, "the *assemblée* at half an hour after, and march at three, or as "soon as day-light will permit, beginning with the rangers, "followed by the light infantry of regiments, the grenadiers, "Willard's, and the second battalion of Ruggles; who all "march by the left, and will pass over the right-hand bridge "going down to the lake, and embark, as ordered. The "regiments of Lyman, Worcester, Fitch, Babcock, Lovewell, "and Whiting, will march by the right, following each other "in that order cross the bridge on the left-hand, and embark, "as ordered. The two brigades of regulars will follow the "first column, marching by the left, and embark, as ordered. "Schuyler's and the first battalion of Ruggles march by the "right, following the fourth column, as ordered. Gage's light "infantry forms the rear of the whole; and, when the whole "are near embarked, will embark likewise, and move up in the

[1] For the position of these forts see Montcalm's plan in Appendix.

"front in their station: the men to carry their tents, when 1759. (July 31st.)
"they march down to embark. The regiments to send imme-
"diately one man to each batteau that is loaded. No man to
"fire out of the boats on any account. All guards are to
"come off at the beating of the *generale*. It being reported,
"that some of the suttlers of regiments have not people suffi- July.
"cient to row the boats, the Commanding Officers of regiments
"are permitted to give leave to some men to help them; but
"great care must be taken, that all such men are to land
"with their regiments, and these batteaus will accordingly
"remain in the rear of each regiment."

The embarkation of the army and artillery, &c. has proved 21st.
a work of incredible difficulty, insomuch that, though the working parties were employed all the night, the whole were not on board until five o'clock, at which time the *assemblée* was beat, and about six [396] the van was in motion; this embarrassment chiefly proceeded from the faulty condition of many batteaus, for, as fast as they were loaded, we had them to unload; one of them, with an hundred barrels of powder, sunk immediately, as did likewise a raft, with two ten-inch mortars, which the General thought proper to leave behind, rather than subject the army to farther delay.

Our artillery consisted of six twenty-four-pounders, four eighteen-pounders, ten twelve-pounders, seven six-pounders, with three three-pounders; six eight-inch howitzers, two of five and an half; eight royal mortars, four ten-inch ditto, and one of thirteen. The army put off in four columns, with two boats only a-breast; the first consisted of rangers, regiments of light infantry, grenadiers, and two provincial regiments; the second, of two brigades of regulars; the third, of the detachment of Royal Artillery, twelve rafts with cannon, and the *invincible radeau* in front, with two provincial regiments; and the fourth column consisted of the remainder of the provincials, under Colonel Lyman, who had a boat with an

1759. (July 31st.) eighteen-pounder on their right, while the rangers in the first division had another with a twelve-pounder on their left; Gage's light infantry, in forty whale-boats, formed the van, rowing in a line a-breast, preceded by a flat-bottomed boat, mounting a three-pounder; and the Halifax sloop cruised in July. the rear of the whole. Whenever the wind favoured us, the troops converted their blankets to the use of sails; the ordnance were not dismounted, but carried on their carriages and beds, upon floating stages or rafts, for the sake of expedition at landing; and the radeau (mounting twelve-pounders) threw out signals, which were repeated by the sloop in the rear. Thus did the army proceed until we made the first Narrows, which was about ten o'clock, when we had a signal to halt, and dress our columns; we soon after set sail again, the wind blew fresh, and the weather grew hazy.

A little before night, we had another signal to bring to, which was instantly observed with the greatest order, each corps and di- [397] vision forming in their proper stations, and the rafts were moored to the radeau: in this situation we remained this night, not without considerable apprehensions of danger, as our wind and weather were very rough, with a disagreeable tumbling sea.

22d. Weather more moderate; as soon as it was clear day-light, a signal was made for the army to proceed, and in a few hours we happily reached the second Narrows, where the troops disembarked near to the former landing-place,[1] leaving sufficient force to protect our stores, with proper guards to take care of the boats and baggage; and, in order that the men should be as light as possible, they left their coats and necessaries in the batteaus. Our van, composed of the light troops, soon after fell in with an advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of four hundred regulars and Indians, under Monsieur

[1] Under date of the 22nd, General Amherst says: "At daybreak the 1st column advanced and landed on the East side, within about two miles of the Enemy's advanced guard."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213-1, p. 89.

Capitaine Bournie, whom they routed, the enemy's savages not waiting for a second fire; two of Berry's regiment were made prisoners, and four of them were scalped; their wounded they carried off with them in their flight.[1] This rencounter happened near the Saw-mills (about two miles from Ticonderoga) a place so immensely strong by nature, that an inferior force of veteran troops, if vigorously determined, would probably defeat the utmost efforts of five times their numbers. The army immediately advanced in good order, and possessed themselves of this advantageous ground, an event at which the General expressed great satisfaction. The distance between the Artillery landing-place and the Saw-mills was near an English mile, and the road was every-where obstructed with large trees, which the enemy had cut down for that purpose; these our provincials soon cleared, being very expert ax-men; and an Officer, with two six-pounders, were instantly forwarded to this post, where the troops threw up some intrenchments without loss of time, their tools being sent a-shore, with several field-pieces, immediately after their landing. The General, having secured his post at the Saw-mills, and detached a sufficient force to the place of debarkation, marched for- [398] ward with the main of his army, towards the enemy's intrenchments, without meeting with the least annoyance; but the field artillery could not follow, pursuant to his orders, on

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July.

[1] "The English army, eleven or twelve thousand strong, six or seven thousand of whom were Regulars, moved slowly, but with all the preparations necessary for a grand expedition. It landed on this end of Lake St. Sacrament on the 22nd July. I wished to take advantage of that moment to make an attack on the troops in advance, with three hundred domiciliated Indians and the grenadiers and volunteers of my little army. I led them in person to meet the enemy on vantage ground, but 'twas impossible for me to induce the Indians to march against the enemy. This unwillingness, which has prevailed throughout the entire campaign, afforded time to the English to form their line, and I was obliged, after having got the other light troops to fire for some time, to make them fall back within the entrenchments of Carillon, and to turn attention to the arrangements of the retreat which I effected on the following night in the greatest order."—Bourlamaque to the Marshal de Belle Isle, November 1, 1759: *New York Colonial Documents*, x. 1055.

1759. (July 31st.) account of the many uncommon difficulties in the roads; so that we were obliged to send them round by water on rafts, and landed them within four or five hundred yards of the lines. The enemy's Indians attacked some of our advanced centries; but, finding our troops are no longer to be surprised July. or terrified, they retired, after exchanging a few shots. Parties from each regiment and corps were sent for the men's coats, tents, and other necessaries.[1] One of the prisoners taken to-day, acquaints us, 'that Monsieur Bourlemacque[2] commands 'here, and that his forces amount to near three thousand men, 'consisting of the regiments of Berry (of two battalions) la 'Reine,[3] a large body of Canadians, and about four hundred 'Indians;'[4] he adds, that they had been informed for a certainty of the arrival of a fleet and army before Quebec. The other prisoner reports the army in the lines to exceed four thousand men, but, as he is most shamefully intoxicated, no regard is paid to what he advances.

Camp before Ticonderoga.

23d. The troops lay on their arms last night; and, this morning, the enemy,[5] observing that the General was drawing up his

[1] This account agrees fairly well with Amherst's *Journal*.

[2] The Chevalier de Bourlamaque was sent to Canada in the spring of 1756 with the rank of Colonel, being next in command after Montcalm and Lévis. In the spring of 1757 he was given the command at Ticonderoga. At the battle of Carillon in 1758 he commanded the French left, fought with distinction, and was severely wounded. In 1759 he was made Brigadier-General, and early that spring was again at Ticonderoga. After the fall of Canada he was appointed Governor of Guadeloupe, where he died in 1764.

[3] The regiment La Reine came to Canada in 1755. Its uniform after 1757 was as follows: Coat white, collar and facings red, reverse of the skirts white, waistcoat blue, buttons white; breeches white; three-cornered cap black, with white border.

[4] "The division of the army employed in that service was composed of the battalion of the regiment of La Reine, of the two battalions of Berry, of one hundred and fifty soldiers detached from the other five battalions, of a like number of soldiers of the Marine and of eight hundred Militia, making a total of two thousand three hundred men."—Bourlamaque to the Marshal de Belle Isle, November 1, 1759: *New York Colonial Documents*, x. 1054.

[5] Colonel Amherst, under date of the 23rd, says: "Intelligence came in

artillery, and preparing to attack them in a regular formal manner, spared him the trouble by abandoning their intrenchments, of which his Excellency immediately took possession, with all the grenadiers of his army; and the troops were incamped behind the lines, the ground being instantly marked out for that purpose: the enemy fired warmly on the trenches from the fort; but the uncommon height of their breast-works were now become extremely useful, in covering our people from their shot and shells. Some out-houses and sheds on the point, contiguous to the fort, were set on fire by the French Indians. We are erecting a redoubt, to defend the [399] landing-place; and throwing up a breast-work of trees, from thence to the Saw-mills, to protect the road. Several boats and canoes are seen on lake Champlain, and an armed sloop, mounting eight guns, was also discovered; in the afternoon we got up two twelve-pounders, and two howitzers attended by a Captain and a detachment of the artillery; in the evening some batteaus and planks were drawn to the Saw-mills, to make rafts for the heavy cannon. 1759. (July 31st.) July.

Last night the enemy attacked our advanced guard of the trenches, by which we had a Lieutenant and four men killed, and eleven wounded: it is suspected that our people, in the first confusion, fired upon each other. We got our flat-bottomed boat, with two twenty-four pounders, and two ten-inch mortars, up to the Saw-mills; the boat was drawn on a carriage, with her brass three-pounder mounted on her bow, as before. A Captain, with a party, are gone to make a diversion on lake Champlain; by the number of movements there, we are inclined to think the enemy are concerting a retreat; heavy firing from the fort to-day. Colonel Lovel's regiment of provincials are ordered to join the army under Brigadier-General Prideaux, and a corps of four hundred men, 24th.

from Ruggles's Post, that the Enemy had abandoned the lines, a few Sentries only appearing there, that they had set fire to something in the Fort, and were loading batteaus."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213-1, p. 91.

1759. (July 31st.) draughted from the troops in the West-Indies, are ordered upon the same service. At night-fall a party of rangers got a batteau into the lake, to endeavour to intercept the enemy's canoes, and to watch their motions; the General is very anxious to have the battering-cannon and mortars brought up, being

July. resolved not to open on the fort until he can do it effectually. Colonel Babcock's regiment is ordered to take post in the works thrown up at the landing-place, and a Field-Officer, with a detachment also of provincials, are posted at the half-way, between that and the Saw-mills.

25th. An unlucky accident happened last night; some of our men were alarmed, and prepossessed with the enemy's making a *sortie;* [400] they fired on each other, by which two were killed.[1] This has occasioned the following orders to be issued:

"ORDERS.

"The General cannot but be surprised that such brave and "good troops should be subject to be alarmed in the night, "and that any of the men should fire after the orders he has "given, without being commanded by their Officers to do it, "by which they wound and kill their comrades; and their "not obeying the order of receiving the enemy in the night, "with their bayonets fixed, will cost more men than all the "fire the enemy can bring against them; and he hopes no "farther alarms of this sort will happen."

(After-Orders.)

"Sixty of Major Rogers's rangers will march, with their "Commanding Officer, into the trenches this night, and will "be employed, at a proper time, to alarm the enemy, by firing

[1] Colonel Amherst, on the 24th, made the following entry: "An alarm upon our left in the Night, a Company of light Infantry began the fire, which was continued by some others, directly contrary to the General's orders, not to fire in the night upon any account but to stand fast and receive the Enemy with the bayonet. An officer of Forbes's was killed."—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213–1, p. 93.

"into the covered way, to keep their attention from the work- 1759. (July
"men. The Commanding Officer, who marches out of the 31st.)
"trenches, will always acquaint the Officer, who relieves him,
"of the different posts he has, and every thing that is material
"for him to know.—As it may be necessary to have a counter-
"sign, by which the men in the trenches may know each other July.
"in the night, the countersign for this night is BOSTON."

Two twenty-four pounders, and a thirteen-inch mortar, with their ammunition, were brought up this morning, conducted by the Commanding Officer of the artillery; the enemy have kept an incessant fire on the trenches these last twenty-four hours; they have now got the distance to the camp, and gall us considerably, four being killed by a shell, and several wounded; notwithstanding these annoyances, we have carried our approaches within six hun- [401] dred yards of the fort, and Major Rogers, with his Indians, are advanced, endeavouring to amuse the besieged from our works by popping into theirs. The Honourable Colonel Townshend[1] was picked off to-day in the trenches by a cannon-shot; he is very deservedly lamented by the General and the army. The enemy have got a bridge a-cross the lake, with works to cover it, intending thereby to secure their retreat. The flat-bottomed boat, with fifty whale-boats, now on Lake Champlain, are ordered to proceed with a body of light troops, to destroy such works as the enemy may have thrown up to obstruct the navigation, as well as to amuse them on that side.

The duty of the trenches is done by regiments, taking it 26th.
alternately; we are very busy in forwarding artillery-stores, and expect to open our batteries to-night or to-morrow

[1] The Hon. Roger Townshend was much respected in the army. A monument was erected to him in Westminster Abbey. Brigadier Townshend, writing from Quebec to Amherst, says: "I hear I have got Barrington's Regiment. Alas what a Bouquet this had been a Year or two hence for poor Roger. I assure you I return thoroughly wounded from America, I loved him sincerely."—*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. 221.

1759. (July 31st.) morning; the enemy continue to fire warmly on our approaches, but their shot and shells do not so much retard our operations as the ground we work on, it being an uncommon weighty, stiff clay. Two provincial centries, who had been posted between the army and the landing-place, were taken off by the July. enemy's Indians and scalped; some batteaus coming from the other end of Lake George, the men ventured to go a-shore to dress some provisions, and were fired upon by a party of Indians, who killed and scalped five, and made three prisoners. The fire of the fort is much abated, by which we are inclined to think the enemy have damaged the best of their artillery.

(After Orders.)

"As there have been some Indians firing in the rear to-day, "the General depends upon the regiments not being alarmed, "if they should hear some firing in the night. The counter-"sign this night is LONDON."

About ten o'clock this night some deserters came into the trenches, to apprise us of the enemy's having abandoned the fort; and, before they could be conducted to the General, their magazine blew up, whereby the wooden works of the place were set on fire; [402] before they went off, they loaded all their shells, guns, and musketry up to their muzzles, with port-fuse's to the vents; and the flames, communicating to them, rendered the place for some time inaccessible, with any degree of safety. The General, being ascertained of this great event, detached Colonel Haviland with the light infantry of regiments, and the rangers on the lake, with the flat-bottomed boat and whale-boats to follow and harrass their rear; who came up with some batteaus laden with powder, which they took, and made sixteen men prisoners, one of whom was a Cadet.[1]

[1] Bourlamaque says: "I left four hundred men in the fort, under the command of Captain d'Hebecourt, of La Reine, an officer of courage and distinction, with orders to blow up the fort and to retire as soon as the enemy would have erected their first batteries. I encamped with the remainder of the

Early this morning a Serjeant of regulars requested the General's permission to go into the fort and strike the French flag which they left flying; his Excellency having consented, this bold volunteer lost no time in executing his resolution, and soon after brought it safe to camp, for which he was genteelly rewarded. The Parole this day is KING GEORGE. 1759. (July 31st.) July. 27th.

A detachment was sent into the fort to endeavour to extinguish the flames, and some gunners to draw the guns, &c. which they are in hopes to accomplish; the enemy's principal mortar was burst yesterday, as we had conjectured by the slackness of their fire. The main of our army, incamped within the lines, began to level our own works, and to fill up the road we have made from lake Champlain, to the Saw-mills, for the carrying on the siege; four battalions of provincials are incamped nearer to the fort for repairing the works. Five hundred men are detached back to Lake George, for provisions and stores; a number of French batteaus that were sunk in the lake are ordered to be weighed, and a brig with some boats, which Captain Loring had directions to build, are to be finished with all possible dispatch, in order to render us superior to the naval force of the enemy on the lake. On the morning of the 22d, when we landed, Mons. Bourlemacque's forces amounted to two thousand eight hundred men (regulars and Canadians) with about three hundred savages, who all immediately retired, except a detachment of four hundred men, that were left [403] for the defence of the fort and its dependencies; this information we received from deserters, and it is confirmed by the prisoners, who add, that their army are retired to the Narrows, about three leagues up the lake; and are resolved to make a stand there, being strongly intrenched, with every advantage of situation.

troops, two leagues and a half from Carillon, to preserve the communication by the river with the fort, and to be able to get the garrison from it. M. d'Hebecourt, after having kept up, during four days, the most active fire from the artillery, retired during the night of the 26th & 27th, having had the guns burst and the fort blown up."—*New York Colonial Documents*, x. 1055.

1759. (July 31st.) Our loss, in the reduction of the fort and lines of Ticonderoga, amounted to 'one Colonel (Townshend, whose remains

July 28th. 'are transmitted to Albany for interment) one Lieutenant, and 'fifteen privates killed, and about fifty wounded.'[1] The army are employed in drawing artillery, stores, and provisions to the side of Lake Champlain, also launching batteaus and whaleboats with all expedition, as the General seems anxious to be in possession of Crown-Point; the troops are in high spirits. By our last accounts from the south side of Lake George, Colonel Montresor had got the new fort in a respectable posture of defence, which is now called Fort George. This afternoon an express arrived from the army before Niagara, with an account of the death of Brigadier General Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed in the trenches, on the evening of the 19th, by an accident, the Gunner inconsiderately firing, as the General was passing; the shell burst as soon as it had cleared the mouth of the cohorn, and a large piece of it struck him on the side of his head; Brigadier General Gage is ordered to proceed to Oswego, to take upon him the command of that army over which Colonel Haldimand, from Oswego, presides at present, being immediately sent for by Sir William Johnson, upon that unlucky event.

29th. The army are employed in forwarding matters for the farther operations of the campaign; also preparing to clear the fort, and construct barracks for a new garrison: we have received intelligence, that Mons. Bourlemacque's forces are

[1] A return of killed, wounded, and missing at Ticonderoga, July 22 to 26, is enclosed in Amherst's letter to Pitt of July 27, 1759: Royal Regiment, 5 killed, 9 wounded; late Forbes's, 2 killed, 8 wounded; Inniskillingers, 2 killed, 1 wounded; Royal Highlanders, 1 killed; Prideaux's, 3 wounded; Montgomery's, 2 killed, 6 wounded; Gage's, 1 killed, 2 wounded; Grenadiers of the Army, 10 wounded; Light Infantry of the Army, 1 ensign killed, 8 rank and file wounded, 1 missing; Rangers and Indians, 2 wounded; Provincial Forces, 3 killed, 2 wounded; the Hon. Colonel Townshend, Deputy Adjutant-General, killed.—*Canadian Archives*, M. 213–1, p. 78.

The ensign killed seems to have been Harrison of Forbes's regiment. —*James Montresor's Journal.*

moved to Crown-Point, where they have got two armed sloops and a schooner; they pretend to hold our naval force in contempt, and flatter themselves we shall be delayed here in building large vessels, and that we cannot well proceed without a reinforcement: small parties of our light [404] troops are scouting in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point, and ranging the mountains that overlook that fortress. Five companies of provincials joined the army to-day; the enemy had formed a plan here of erecting a smaller fort near the water-side, but, as they had not finished it, the General has ordered it to be thoroughly completed. 1759. (July 31st.) July.

It rained so incessantly yesterday, and the preceding night, that all our works were intirely at a stand; the General is concerned at the delay it occasions in forwarding the batteaus over the carrying-place. The fort of Ticonderoga is small, though respectably situated, being a square with four bastions, raised with large timbers (in like manner as its late formidable intrenchments;) there are two ravelins of masonry that cover the front next the lines, to which only approaches can be made; it has a ditch of a moderate depth and breadth, with a glacis and covered way in good condition; the counterscarp of the ditch and glacis are of masonry; there are casemates in the fort which have not suffered by the late revolutions, and eleven excellent ovens that prove very serviceable to the army. The barracks for the garrison, with most of their store-houses, are burned down, but the walls do not appear to be damaged: one bastion and a part of two curtains are demolished by the explosion of the magazine. This famous fortress is built upon a rock, and, in order to level the foundation, its surface is covered with masonry: Colonel Eyre has got directions to repair it with all expedition, upon the same plan as the enemy had erected it. 31st.

Thus has our Commander in Chief curbed the insolence of the French in this part of the country, and, by his incomparable measures and steady perseverance, compelled the

1759. (July 31st.) enemy, with very little loss on our side, to abandon a pass which has proved, for several years back, a desperate thorn to his Majesty's subjects of New-England, New-York, &c. and frustrated all our endeavours since the commencement of this war.

Great feats are and have been often atchieved by musketry alone, but such daring undertakings should only be reserved for, and attempted in, merely necessitous, desperate cases; and artillery, as in this instance now before us, be employed where it can be rendered truly serviceable; for a General will thereby not only prevent a great effusion of human blood, but prudently preserve the lives of his valiant troops (his fellow-creatures) for farther enterprises, acquire to himself the reputation of an able Commander, and discharge his duty, more effectually, to his Maker, his King, and his Country.

Having now deduced the operation of the campaign on the lakes to the same period with the army below Quebec, it is time to turn our eyes to that quarter, and observe the measures that have been taken to reduce the capital of Canada to our obedience; but this, with the other interesting events that followed, must be reserved for the second volume.

The End of the First Volume.

ERRATA.

Page 10, line 4 of the note, for *sliding*, read *sleighing*.
—— 11, line 25, the semicolon should be after *us;*
—— 42, line 7, for *sixteen*, read *sixty*.
—— 66, line 8, for *chearuping-glass*, read *chirping-glass*.
—— 80, last line, read *whole to thirty*, *&c.* ibid. and last words, say, *as their rout*, *&c.*
—— 112, line 3, for *blow*, read *below*.
—— 125, line 23, for *Tripon*, read *Fripon*.
—— 151, line 21, for *versified*, read *verified*.
—— 247, line 26, for *exsanguious*, read *exanguious*.
—— 297, last line, for *our centries*, read *out-centries*.
—— 336, second line of orders, for *opportunities at their posts*, read *opportunities of killing single men at their posts*.
—— 344, line 9, for *most*, read *once*.

*** The Author hopes his distance from Town, where this Work was printed, will be an Excuse for all Errors of the Press, &c. &c.

NOTES TO ACCOMPANY THE PLAN OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL

NOTES TO ACCOMPANY THE PLAN OF THE RIVER OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.

Prepared by MR. PLACIDE GAUDET, *Genealogist to the Public Archives of Canada.*

N.B.—*Notes to be inserted on the north side of the plan of Annapolis River.*

1. PRÉE BOURGEOIS.—The marsh at or near Port Wade, here called Prée Bourgeois, was named after Jacques Bourgeois, a native of France, who came to Port Royal in 1642 as a surgeon.

2. MOSQUITO COVE.—Now called Thorne Cove.

3. BLACK COVE.—Known now as Karsdale.

4. BLACK POINT.—Probably bears the same name to-day.

5. SMALL REMAINS OF SCOTCH FORT.—This is the site where, in August, 1605, de Monts built a fort and a habitation which were destroyed November 1, 1613, by Samuel Argall. In 1628 Scotch colonists under the command of William Alexander, son of Sir William Alexander, landed here to form a settlement. In the following summer, more than three or four months after the treaty of peace between France and England, which was signed at Suze, April 24, 1629, a fort called Charles Fort was built by the Scots on the ruins of the one destroyed sixteen years before by Argall. By the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, March 29, 1632, Acadie was restored to France. In view of this restitution, the King of England had by an order to Sir William Alexander, dated at the Court of Greenwich, July 4 (O.S.), 1631, commanded him "to give order to George Hume, Knt., or other commanding for you in the said place, to demolish the fort built there by your son, and to remove thence the people, goods, cannon, ammunition, and cattle, and other things belonging to this plantation; leaving the limits thereof altogether desert and depeopled, as they were when your sd. Son arrived there to settle in virtue of our Commission." (*Report of the Work of the Canadian Archives for the year* 1912, p. 49.) This was done in 1632.

6. MELLANSON VILLAGE.—Two brothers, Peter and Charles Mellanson, natives of Scotland, came to Acadie with their parents in 1657, and settled on the north side of Annapolis River, a short distance to the east of Scotch Fort. Peter, surnamed Sieur de la Verdure, born in 1632, married Marguerite Marie d'Entremont in 1665, and settled at Grand Prée about the year 1680. He became the father of a large family. His brother Charles was born in 1642, and married in 1667 Marie Dugas. He lived on his father's land on the Annapolis River and had a numerous family. The two brothers, originally Protestants, became Catholics on their marriage, and their descendants are now numerous both in Canada and in the United States.

7. POINTE-AUX-CHÊNES.—This place is now known as Stoney Beach.

8. DELAURIER.—Nicholas Babineau, surnamed Delaurier, was born in 1653, and married Jeanne Granger. He was the brother of Jean Babineau of Babineau's Hill. His descendants are numerous in New Brunswick.

9. BOURG VILLAGE.—Antoine Bourg, born in France in 1609, married Antoinette Landry, and came to Acadie in 1632 with the Commander de Razilly. He was the ancestor of the Acadian families of Bourg or Bourque, and grandfather of Alexander Bourg, sieur de Bellehumeur, royal notary of Mines District.

10. BILLY JOHNSON.—William Johnson, born about 1686 in Scotland, came to Annapolis as one of the garrison in the year 1711. Soon after his arrival he became acquainted with an Acadian girl, Isabelle Corporon, by whom he had several children, the first of whom was named Marie, born September 9, 1713, who became the wife of John Davis of the Annapolis garrison. Another child, born in August 1722, was called William, and, like his father, was known as Billy Johnson. He married Marie Aucoin, of Canard River. He is the Johnson referred to in the *Journal*. The descendants of Billy Johnson, the younger, are numerous in the Province of New Brunswick and Bonaventure County, P.Q., while the Johnsons in the counties of L'Assomption and Montcalm, P.Q., are descendants of two of his brothers.

11. MATHIEU DOUCET VILLAGE.—Mathieu Doucet, son of Pierre and Henriette Pelletray, was born at Port Royal in 1685. He married, at Annapolis Royal, June 15, 1712, Anne L'Or, surnamed LaMontagne. He was the stepbrother of Germain Doucet, father of Jacques, surnamed Maillard. Pierre Doucet, father of Germain and Mathieu, was born in France in 1621. He was the son of Germain Doucet, sieur de la Verdure, master-at-arms at Pentagoet (Penobscot) in 1640, commanding officer at Port Royal in 1654, and guardian of the minor children of the Governor d'Aulnay de Charnisay who perished in the Annapolis River in May, 1650.

12. LAMONTAGNE VILLAGE.—Julien L'Or, surnamed LaMontagne, was born in France in 1654, and married Charlotte Girouard at Port Royal in 1665. He died at Annapolis Royal in 1724. His descendants are numerous in the counties of Nicolet and Montcalm, P.Q. The family is now known by the name of Lord.

13. LANOUE.—Pierrre LaNoue, a native of France, was born in 1647. He came to Port Royal, and married in 1681 Jeanne Gautrot. His son Pierre, born in 1682, was married on November 21, 1722, to Marie Granger, and has many descendants in the Province of Quebec, and some in Charlestown, South Carolina.

14. JEAN BRUN.—Jean Brun, son of Sébastien Brun and Huguette Bourg, was born at Port Royal in 1682. He married on October 2, 1708, Anne Gautrot, at Port Royal. He died there June 1, 1751, leaving several children whose descendants bear the name of Brun and Le Brun.

15. BRUN VILLAGE.—This is apparently the homestead of Vincent Brun, who was born in France in the year 1611, and came to Acadie with his wife Renée Breau in 1632. His son, Sébastien, who was born in 1656, married in 1676 Marguerite Bourg. He died August 15, 1728, leaving four sons, each of whom had a large family. Their descendants are scattered throughout the counties of Cumberland, N.S., and Westmorland, N.B., and in the Province of Quebec.

16. BARNABÉ VILLAGE.—This village was named after Barnabé Martin, son of the Barnabé Martin who, with his brother, Pierre Martin, came to Acadie with Razilly in 1632. Barnabé Martin, the younger, married in 1666 Jeanne Pelletray. René, his eldest son, born in 1670, married in 1690 Marie Meunier, and settled at this place.

17. W. DENIS.—The only mention of this name in the Roman Catholic Church register of Annapolis Royal is in a baptism of a child of Jean Pellerin on August 17, 1719, where it is stated that the godmother was Madeleine Pellerin, wife of d'Ouil Denis. Ouil is the phonic sound in French of Will. Who was this William Denis? In all probability he was one of the soldiers of the British garrison at the fort who had married an Acadian and settled among the Acadians. If he had any children their entries of baptism are not recorded in the church register.

18. BELLISLE.—This place took its name from Alexander LeBorgne, sieur de Bellisle, born at La Rochelle (France), in 1643, who came to Port Royal in 1668 with the title of governor of a part of Acadie, granted to him April 4, 1668, by the King of France, at the request of the general directors of the West Indies Company. This young gentleman was the son of Emmanuel LeBorgne, sieur de Coudray, and of Jeanne François. Emmanuel LeBorgne, as a creditor of the Governor d'Aulnay de Charnisay, came out from La Rochelle to Acadie in 1652, and took possession of all the estates of the deceased d'Aulnay, one of which was a large marsh containing more than 1500 acres, now known as Bellisle Marsh, and which d'Aulnay had diked and made into a farm. In 1674 Bellisle married Marie de St. Etienne de la Tour, and he died at Port Royal about 1691, leaving two sons and several daughters.

19. DANIEL LEBLANC, born in France in 1626, came to Acadie with Françoise Gaudet his wife in 1650, and settled on the north-east of Bellisle Marsh about nine miles above the fort. LeBlanc died between the years 1693 and 1698, leaving six sons, four of whom settled at Mines Basin about 1687. One of his sons became a mariner, and the youngest son, Pierre, born in 1664, succeeded to the estate of his father. Pierre LeBlanc died November 4, 1717, leaving eight children, the youngest of whom, named Charles, was born September 26, 1716, and died in Digby Co., September 30, 1805. He was the great-great-grandfather of the Right Rev. Dr. Edouard LeBlanc, consecrated Bishop of St. John, N.B., December 10, 1913.

20. MASS HOUSE.—This chapel stood at the foot of the marsh on Guillot's land. Its titular saint was St. Laurent. The date of its erection is not known, but it seems to have been built about 1690, perhaps a few years later. There was a cemetery near it. The parish priest of Port Royal took up his residence here from the surrender of Port Royal, October, 1710, to the summer of 1724. Then the British authorities at Annapolis Royal ordered this building to be demolished, but this was only done twelve years later, in 1736. It is at this chapel that three months after the surrender of the fort of Port Royal to Nicholson, Father Justinien Durand, the parish priest on that river, was arrested on a Sunday morning by Captain James Abercromby and brought to the fort and there confined for a month, whence he was taken to Boston by Governor Vetch himself, where he remained a prisoner during ten months. In December, 1712, Father Durand was allowed to return to the Chapel of St. Laurent.

21. GUILLOT.—Guillot, a diminutive of Guillaume. Guillaume Blanchard, son of Jean Blanchard and Radegonde Lambert, was born at Port Royal in 1650, and married in 1673 Huguette Goujeon. Blanchard died about 1716, leaving six sons, the youngest of whom, Guillaume, called Guillot, was born in 1690. He married, January 16, 1714, Jeanne Dupuis, and succeeded to his father's estate. He died February 19, 1752.

22. JEAN BROSSARD.—This locality was known as Beausoleil. The name was given as a surname to the family of Brossard who settled there. François Brossard, who was born in France in 1654, took up his residence in this place in 1679. He married in Port Royal in 1680 Catherine Richard, and died December 30, 1716. He left six sons,

the youngest of whom, called Jean, born March 23, 1705, was the only one of the family who remained on the homestead until the expulsion. Pierre Brossard, the eldest son, was the father of the famous Beausoleil of Petitcoudiac who caused so much trouble to the British during the Seven Years' War.

23. BEAULIEU.—Louis Fontaine, surnamed Beaulieu, was born at Port Royal, August 19, 1707. He was the son of René Fontaine, Secretary to Sr. de Subercase, the last French Governor of Acadie, by Isabelle Corporon, the mother of Billy Johnson, junior. When Port Royal surrendered to Nicholson in October, 1710, Louis Fontaine was taken to France by his father and remained there until 1724, when he returned to Annapolis Royal as the domestic of Abbé de Breslay. He married there, February 10, 1730, Madelaine Roy.

24. ANTOINE HÉBERT.—This village was called after Antoine Hébert, son of Etienne Hébert and Marie Gaudet, natives of France. He, Antoine Hébert, was born in 1670, and married in 1691 Jeanne Corporon, by whom he had twelve children.

24. FRANÇOIS BASTARACHE.—François Bastarache, eldest son of Jean Bastarache and Huguette Vincent, was born at Port Royal in 1688. He married in 1714 Agnes LaBauve, and died at Annapolis River, October 27, 1751.

26. BERNARD GAUDET.—Bernard Gaudet, son of Pierre Gaudet, Sr., and Anne Blanchard, born at Port Royal 1673, and married in 1699 Jeanne Terriot. He died March 18, 1757, leaving seven children, whose descendants are numerous in Westmorland County, N.B., and Montcalm County, P.Q.

27. GAUDET VILLAGE.—This was the homestead of Denis Gaudet, who was born in France in 1621, and married at Port Royal in 1645 Martine Gauthier. He died November 21, 1709. He was the grandfather of Bernard Gaudet. (See note 26.)

28. PRÉJEAN.—Jean Préjean, surnamed LeBreton, was born in France in 1641, and married at Port Royal in 1693 Andrée Savoie. He died June 4, 1733, leaving a large family of children and grandchildren.

29. PARADIS TERRESTRE.—So far as it could be ascertained by diligent searches, there are no records to show how, why, and when this place was called "a paradise upon earth" by the Acadians. It bears now the name of Paradise.

N.B.—*Notes to be inserted on the south side of the plan of Annapolis River.*

30. BASTARACHE.—This village was named after Jean Bastarache, urnamed Le Basque and Au Basque. Jean Bastarache was born in France in 1661, and married at Port Royal in 1684 Huguette Vincent. He died in 1733, leaving three sons—namely, François, who settled on the north side of the River Annapolis; Jean, born 1696, who escaped deportation and went to Quebec, where he died in 1757; and Pierre, born in July, 1702. The descendants of these three brothers are numerous in the Provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec.

31. JEAN PRINCE.—Jean LePrince, the founder of this village, was born in 1679 at Port Royal. Jacques LePrince, his father, was born in France in 1646, and married, 1678, Marguerite Hébert, at Port Royal, where he settled. Jean LePrince married at Port Royal in 1715 Jeanne Blanchard, widow of Oliver Daigle. He had five children, whose descendants are numerous in the Province of Quebec, especially in the District of Three Rivers. Mgr. Prince, first Bishop of St. Hyacinthe, was a descendant of Antoine, one of the brothers of Jean LePrince.

32. RENÉ FOREST VILLAGE.—René Forest, son of Michel deForest and Marie Hébert, of France, was born at Port Royal in 1670. He married in 1695 Françoise Dugas, and died April 20, 1751, leaving fourteen children.

33. BLOODY CREEK.—Two massacres occurred in this vicinity, the first on June 21, 1711, and the other on December 8, 1757.

34. ALEXANDRE HÉBERT.—Alexandre Hébert, son of Emanuel Hébert and Andrée Brun, was born at Port Royal in 1686. His father, who removed to Grand Prée, was a brother of Antoine Hébert, who lived on the opposite side of the Annapolis River. Alexandre Hébert was deported in December, 1755, being then nearly seventy years of age.

35. BEAUPRÉ.—This village was founded by René Richard, who was born at Port Royal in 1658. He was the eldest son of Michel Richard, a native of France, and Madeleine Blanchard of Acadie. René Richard married in 1689 at Port Royal, Madeleine Landry, and his sons took the surname of Beaupré. René Richard, one of them, escaped deportation and finally reached Béçancour, where he died in 1776. Joseph Richard, son of René Richard, junior, was the great-grandfather of the late Edouard Richard, the historian.

36. CLAUDE GIROUARD.—Claude Girouard, son of Jacques Girouard and Marguerite Gautrot, was born at Port Royal in 1684. He married Elizabeth Blanchard in 1709, and died March 14, 1738.

37. DERUE VILLAGE.—Alexandre Girouard, surnamed DeRue, was born at Port Royal in 1670. He was a brother of Claude Girouard. (See note 36.) He married in 1694 Marie LeBorgne de Bellisle, daughter of Alexandre LeBorgne de Bellisle and Marie de St. Etienne de la Tour. He died September 23, 1744.

38. GIROUARD VILLAGE.—This village was settled by Jacques Girouard, who was born at Port Royal in 1648. Jacques Girouard was

the eldest son of François Girouard, a native of France, and Jeanne Aucoin, of Acadie. He married in the year 1669 Marguerite Gaudet, and died October 27, 1703, leaving fourteen children. Six of his sons settled on the south side of Annapolis River.

39. THIBODEAU VILLAGE.—The founder of this village was Pierre Thibodeau, born in France in 1631, and married at Port Royal in 1660 to Jeanne Terriot. He died December, 1704, leaving a very large family, whose descendants are to-day numerous in the Maritime Provinces, in the Province of Quebec, and in Louisiana. In the church register recording his burial, Pierre Thibodeau is described "an habitant and miller residing on the upper part of the River Port Royal at the place called Prée Ronde."

40. PRÉE RONDE (Round Hill).—Probably this was one of the farms of the Governor d'Aulnay Charnisay.

41. MILL (Round Hill Brook).—See note 2, page 118.

42. LA ROSETTE VILLAGE.—The name Rosette is a surname given to Jacques Léger, a drummer in the French army in Acadie. (See note 1, page 118.)

43. L'ESTURGEON.—See note 1, page 126.

44. PIERRE VINCENT.—This village was named after Pierre Vincent, born in France in 1631, and married at Port Royal in 1665 to Anne Gaudet, a native of Acadie. He died about 1677, leaving one daughter and four sons, of whom one died about the age of fifteen years. The remaining three married and had large families. They have descendants in the Province of Quebec and elsewhere.

45. RUISSEAU FOURCHU.—See note 1, page 117.

46. MILL.—This mill belonged to Joseph Nicolas Gautier, a native of Rochefort, France, who came to Acadie as a navigator about 1710. He was an educated man and soon became prominent as merchant, mill-owner, and ship-owner. He took up his residence at a place called Belair, a short distance from Maillard's Hill. In 1745 he was worth 65,000 livres in real estate, but having sided with and assisted Duvivier, Marin, and Ramezay in their expeditions against the fort of Annapolis in 1744, 1745, and 1747, his properties were confiscated and he was declared an outlaw, and fled from Annapolis a ruined man. He died about the age of sixty-three at the North East River, Ile St. Jean, April 1, 1752.

47. CAPE.—According to a letter from his Honour Judge A.W. Savary, of Annapolis Royal, "it is called the Cape from where the first road to Halifax starts from the main street of Annapolis into the junction with the other road that leads to Lequille and Halifax. The territory called the Cape embraces both those roads and the settlements on them." In 1714 there were at the Cape forty-one Acadian families forming a population of 207 souls.

48. MAILLARD HILL.—See note 1, page 91.

49. BABINEAU HILL.—This hill was called after Jean Babineau, born about 1657 in Acadie. In 1691 Babineau married Marguerite Boudrot, widow of François Bourg, and died September 5, 1741. He was a brother of Nicolas Babineau, surnamed Delaurier, of the north side of Annapolis River.

50. THE FORT.—See page 96. In Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, vol. ii. page 160, he states, "The fortifications are erected on the south-western extremity of the peninsula. The works, which have been erected at very great expense, are in a dilapidated condition, the cannon dismounted, and the whole incapable in the present state of sustaining a defence. The ground on which they are built contains twenty-eight acres of land."

One of the last occupants of this old fortress was the Rifle Brigade in 1850, but the post was abandoned soon after on account of the numerous and successful desertions which thinned the ranks of the garrison.

The cannon which Haliburton in 1828 described as having been dismounted have disappeared, and nobody seems to know to-day what has become of them. In recent years the fortifications have been restored by the Dominion Government and are now in an excellent state of preservation.

51. THE TOWN.—For a description of this town in 1757, see page 97.

"The town is built on the extremity of a peninsula, which, projecting into the river, forms two beautiful Basins, one above and the other below the town." (Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, vol. ii. p. 159.)

In spite of its dignity of old, Annapolis is a small town. But she looms large in the traveller's eyes by reason of the mantle of history in which she wraps herself.

"Annapolis, do thy floods yet feel
Faint memories of Champlain's Keel;
Thy pulses yet the deeds repeat
Of Poutrincourt and d'Iberville?"

(Charles G. D. Roberts, *The Land of Evangeline*, pp. 21 and 22.)

52. HOG ISLAND.—See note 3, page 88.

53. ALLEN RIVER.—This river was called after Louis Allain, born in France in 1654, and married at Port Royal in 1690 to Marguerite Bourg. Allain was one of the leading Acadians of Annapolis Royal, where he died June 15, 1737, leaving one son and a daughter. The descendants of the son are numerous in New Brunswick, in the Province of Quebec, in Louisiana and other parts of the United States. The daughter, whose name was Marie, married at Annapolis Royal, March 4,

1715, the famous Nicolas Gautier, of whom mention is made in note 46. Allain's name occurs frequently both in the French and English documents from 1690 to 1737. He owned a grist-mill and a saw-mill on the river which bears his name. This river was first named by Poutrincourt Rivière-au-Moulin (Mill River), afterwards Rivière-à-Allain (Allain's River), then Jenny River and Allan's River. It is now called erroneously Lequille, the first name given to the Annapolis Royal River.

54. ROBICHAUD VILLAGE.—This was the homestead of Prudent Robichaud, born in 1669 at Port Royal, son of Etienne Robichaud and Françoise Boudrot, both natives of Acadie. Prudent Robichaud married at Port Royal in 1691 Henriette PetitPas, and they had a family of twelve children, of whom five were sons. He was one of the prominent inhabitants of Annapolis Royal and rendered services to the English garrison, and yet notwithstanding his old age—he was then eighty-six years old—he was embarked in December 1755 on board the *Pembroke*, bound for North Carolina. This vessel on her way to her destination was seized by the Acadian prisoners and brought to St. John Harbour, N.B., where her human cargo of thirty-two families from Annapolis Royal were landed in February 1756. Some of these families left soon after for Quebec. Robichaud died on the St. John River on his way to Quebec. On April 16 (N.S.), 1727, Lieut.-Governor Lawrence Armstrong appointed him a Justice of the Peace for Annapolis, and on December 12 (N.S.), 1733, the same Lieut.-Governor gave him the commission for collecting his Majesty's rents, &c., within the Banlieue of Annapolis Royal.

55. BELLIVEAU VILLAGE.—Antoine Belliveau, born in 1621 in France, where he married, about 1650, Andrée Gouin, was the founder of the Belliveau family in Acadie. His only son, Jean-Antoine Belliveau, born at Port Royal in 1652, left three sons by Jeanne Bourg, his first wife, all of whom had large families and whose descendants are very numerous in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec.

56. DUGAS VILLAGE.—Claude Dugas, eldest son of Abraham Dugas, a native of France, and of Marguerite Doucet, an Acadian, was born at Port Royal in 1652. He married twice and had large families by each of them. He died October 15, 1732. His descendants are very numerous in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec.

57. FISHER'S POINT.—This point is now known as Upper Clements.

58. GOAT ISLAND.—In Lescarbot's map this island—not named in Champlain's map—is called Biencourtville, in honour of Poutrincourt's son, Biencourt. Later on it was named Isle-aux-Chèvres (Goat Island) by the French, then Armstrong's Island and Vane's Island by the English, but finally it was renamed Goat Island. This island is at the head of the Annapolis Basin. There is a channel on each side of it. The one on the south is called in old French documents La Passe des Fous (The Fools' Channel). The north channel, the one used, is at the mouth of the Annapolis River. In *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*, Lescarbot writes thus about l'Isle-aux-Chèvres :

"Adieu mon doux plaisir fonteines et ruisseaux,
Qui les vaux et les monts arrosez de vos eaux.
Pourray je t'oublier belle ile forétiere
Riche honneur de ce lieu & de cette riviere?"
(Edition of 1618, p. 28.)

59. GOOSEBERRY ISLAND.—This island seems to have disappeared, as it is not marked on Church's map of the County of Annapolis nor on the postal map of that county.

60. MOOSE RIVER.—First named by the French Ruisseau de la Roche (Rock Brook), then Rivière de l'Orignal (Moose River) in Lescarbot's map.

61. BEAR RIVER.—In Champlain's map it is called Rivière St. Antoine (St. Anthony's River), on Lescarbot's map it is named Rivière Hébert (Hébert River), after Louis Hébert, the Parisian apothecary, who lived at Port Royal several years before he became the first settler of Quebec. It is not generally known by historical writers that the surnames Hébert, Himbert, and Imbert are but one family name. This river is now absurdly called Bear River; *bear* in this case is certainly a corruption of Hébert.

62. BEAR ISLAND.—Called Isle Claudiane in Lescarbot's map. Its present name is a corruption of Hébert.

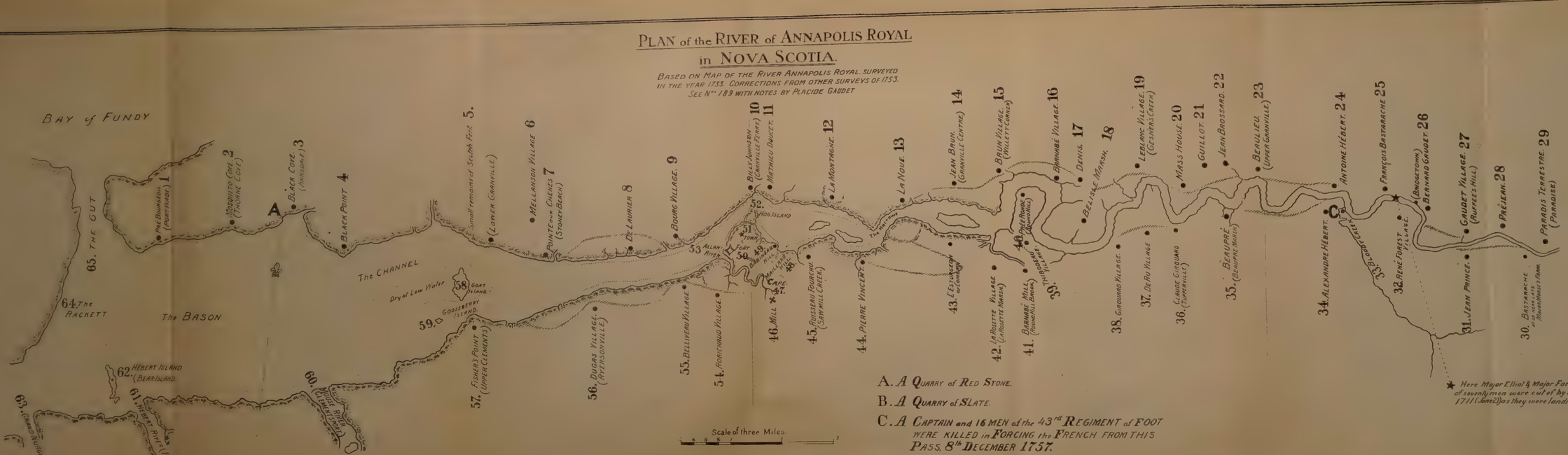
63. GRAND NIJAGAN.—This is now known as The Joggin.

64. THE RACKETT.—A corruption of the French word raquettes (snow-shoes).

65. THE GUT.—This gap, now called Digby Gut, was in the earlier days known as St. George's Channel.

PLAN of the RIVER of ANNAPOLIS ROYAL in NOVA SCOTIA.

BASED ON MAP OF THE RIVER ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, SURVEYED IN THE YEAR 1733. CORRECTIONS FROM OTHER SURVEYS OF 1753. SEE Nos 189 WITH NOTES BY PLACIDE GAUDET



A. A QUARRY of RED STONE.

B. A QUARRY of SLATE.

C. A CAPTAIN and 16 MEN of the 43rd REGIMENT of FOOT WERE KILLED in FORCING the FRENCH FROM THIS PASS, 8th DECEMBER 1757.

★ Here Major Elliot & Major Forbes with a party of seventy men were cut off by the Indians Anno 1711 (Note 2) as they were landing.

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